Daily Report

East Europe

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French Foreign Minister Dumas Arrives in Tirana

AU1010092891 Tirana ATA in English 0914 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 10 (ATA)—At the invitation of the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, Minister of State, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic Roland Dumas arrived on an official and friendly visit to our country.

At Rinas Airport he was welcomed by Muhamet Kapllani, minister of foreign affairs and other functionaries.

Present to welcome the delegation was also Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to the Republic of Albania Michel Boulmer.

People's Assembly Eases Visa Regulations

AU0910183791 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Report by Zamira Koleci—live]

[Text] The People's Assembly began its proceedings at 1030 today and first discussed a codicil to Decree No. 7,393 on the Issue of Passports for Travel Abroad and the Granting of Visas. The bill suggests that foreign businessmen coming to Albanian on business authorized by the state may be given multiple entry visas for Albania, valid for up to one year. This will help our trade relations and encourage foreign investment. Before approving the bill, deputies asked specialists from the Ministry of Public Order and the Foreign Ministry questions about the procedure for granting visas and increasing their number, especially for neighboring countries. They also demanded to know what the Foreign Ministry is doing to help obtain visas for Albanian citizens who wish to travel abroad, again giving priority to neighboring countries. Deputies suggested that the granting of visas should be liberalized, stressing the need to draw up the necessary agreements with foreign governments.

Deputies then made suggestions about the bill's wording. The bill was approved by a majority of votes, formulated more or less as follows: Foreigners engaged in business authorized by the competent Albanian bodies may be given multiple entry visas valid for up to one year. Foreign representatives engaged in technical, scientific, cultural, and charitable activities also benefit from this law.

After the recess, deputies discussed the decree issued by the president of the Republic on 9 August 1991 on some changes to Decree No. 4,650 on the State Borders of the Republic of Albania and Decree No. 4,938 on the Port Authorities. On behalf of the Commission for Defense and the Protection of Public Order, the deputy Baki Shehu said that the commission, following a preliminary examination of the decree, had observed that ministries have differing views on the law transferring border guards from the Ministry of Public Order to the Minister of People's Defense. He therefore proposed that this decree should be sent back for discussion by the officials of the Ministries of Public Order, Defense, and Transportation and returned to the Assembly for approval as soon as possible. Some deputies who spoke said that this presidential decree contravenes the Main Constitutional Dispositions approved by the legislature because the Assembly had been in session when it was issued. The deputies then approved the proposal of the Commission for Defense and the Protection of Public Order.

In the discussion of the Road Tax Bill, the deputy Xhemal Gazidede put forward the view of the Transportation Commission that the bill should be approved. Meanwhile, the deputies in their speeches expressed the view that the bill was neither complete nor precise and was unsuitable for the current state of the Albanian road network. It was therefore suggested that this bill should be sent back for revision.

The morning session ended at this point. This afternoon, the Assembly will continue in a plenary session to discuss various problems worrying the electorate.

Commission Considers Welfare of Former Prisoners

AU0910153091 Tirana ATA in English 1055 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 9 (ATA)—On October 8 before noon, the secretary general of the Council of Ministers and the Chairman of Government Commission for the Treatment of the Former Political Prisoners, Dr. Teodor Kareco, had a meeting with the chairmen of the commissions in the districts. Present was also the chairman of the Committee of Labour and Social Assistance, Dr. Theodhori Bej.

Dr. Teodor Kareco expressed the worry and commitment of the government for a quick solution and according to the existing possibilities of the just demands of the former political prisoners. He underlined that the government is aware that the commitment should have been greater even before the hunger strike of the former prisoners. Further on, he pointed to the most fundamental tasks actually existing before the Government Commission, the commissions in the districts and the organs of the local state power. An urgent task, he said, is to exactly make evident, in cooperation with the organs of justice, the number of the former political prisoners in every district. This should be made with responsibility.

Dr. Teodor Kareco concentrated in particular on the questions of the material treatment of the former political prisoners. The financial compensation the government decided upon for those who are not employed will continue further on with the law on social assistance sent to the People's Assembly for approval. He instructed that the organs of the power in the district should give priority to the employment and housing questions of the former political prisoners.

Shortage of Bread in Tropoje Reported

AU1010101091 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 29 Sep 91 p 3

[Article by Halil Bucpapaj: "How Are Things in Tropoje?"]

[Text] Friends outside the district ask this question. If you open my notebook, you will read:

—A large group of peasants from Bradoshnice blockaded the entrance to the Tropoje District Executive Committee. Why? For the simplest reason: They wanted bread!

—An upset peasant from Cerem came in distress to the bakery in Bajram Curri and asked for bread for his wedding. —The bakery and flour depot in Bajram Curri have been attacked. —The stores are virtually empty, especially state stores. —Vendettas and crimes against people and property have never been on such a scale....

Let us close this notebook, friends, wherever you may be! Instead of relating the dismal chronicle of today's life, let us all demand that the vital needs of the people of Tropoje are met. The manager of the procurement enterprise is asked whether this or that truckload of wheat has arrived, and you hear him reply that it has not and that there will be no wheat or flour tomorrow, and a chill runs down your spine. He tells you that the Bajram Curri bakery has fulfilled its plan 132 percent, but you see crowds waiting for bread until late. What is happening and where are we heading? Winter is upon us. The peasants of Bradoshnice have come and are highly distressed because the road will be closed in winter, and they will have to carry bread for their mountain village by mule or on their own backs over the crags and through the ravines for six or seven months. It would be better and fairer if the distribution of aid were to start in the mountains instead of on the plains, as it has done.

Your hear that wheat sometimes comes from Mjede and sometimes not. Trucks sometimes move and sometimes not. Sometimes they are loaded and sometimes not. Workers are sometimes paid and sometimes not. Then you hear of other obstacles and about cases in which wheat or other goods depart but never reach their intended destinations, and one wonders whether we are seeking our own good.

Croatia's Greguric Interviewed at Sofia Airport

AU1010105591 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Report by Martin Minkov on the arrival of Franjo Greguric, prime minister of the Republic of Croatia, at Sofia Airport—recorded]

[Text] [Minkov] At 1130 precisely, Dr. Franjo Greguric, prime minister of the Republic of Croatia, landed at Sofia Airport on board a special aircraft with the Croatian Airlines insignia. He is accompanied by deputy ministers and industrialists.

The Croatian prime minister was kind enough to make a short statement especially for Bulgarian Radio:

[Unidentified reporter] Excuse us, Mr. Prime Minister, could you give us a couple of words about your expectations from this Sofia visit, which is the first after the proclamation of the republic's full independence?

[Greguric in Serbo-Croatian with simultaneous Bulgarian translation] This is itself a very important fact. It is the first official visit abroad paid by representatives from the government of the Republic of Croatia only two days after its declaration of independence, and, in addition, it is a visit to Bulgaria, a traditional friend of the Croatian people. A great number of my colleagues are accompanying me to Bulgaria. We have many historical and cultural common links, but perhaps we should pay even greater attention to our future economic cooperation.

[Reporter] We wish you a pleasant stay in Bulgaria.

[Minkov] As you can understand, Dr. Greguric comes in an optimistic mood, as a man who knows Bulgaria well and considers it a friend of the Croatian people. At this moment, a meeting of Prime Minister Dimitur Popov with the Croatian prime minister is about to begin at the Boyana Residence. The official Bulgarian-Croatian government talks are expected to open at 1500 Bulgarian time at the Council of Ministers' headquarters, and Franjo Greguric is expected to be received by President of the Republic Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev somewhat later. A news conference on the results of the visit is scheduled for 1800 local time.

Vessel Reported Under Fire in Yugoslavia

AU0910212291 Sofia BTA in English 2005 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Ruse, October 9 (BTA)—The Bulgarian River Shipping Company announced that the Bulgarian Ivan Vazov tow boat convoyed by seven barges came under automatic and mortar fire at 6 p.m. on Tuesday at the 1,337th km of the River Danube near Vukovar. Second pilot Plamen Vodenicharov, who was on watch, was wounded in the chest and the left arm. There was no danger to his life when he was taken to a hospital in Novi Sad by a military ambulance. There are no other casualties among the crews of the ship and the barges.

The damages to the towboat are being inspected. The incident in Yugoslav waters is being investigated on the spot.

The shipping company has reported the incident to the Bulgarian Embassy in Belgrade and the Bulgarian authorities.

Croatia Conflict Affects Telecommunications

AU0910214591 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 4 Oct 91 p 1

[Report by Desislava Paunska: "Croatian Conflict Interrupts Bulgaria's Telephone Lines"]

[Text] Bulgaria's telephone lines to foreign countries have been interrupted by the conflict in Croatia. This was stated by the deputy chairman of the Yugoslav Postal Communications Organization during his visit to the Committee on Communications and Data Processing.

During the meeting with Mr. Tasin, it was agreed that the next time accounts between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are settled, a certain amount will be deducted for the period during which communications were interrupted. Our monthly loss caused by directing telephone traffic to other countries amounts to $150,000, and the loss caused by the inability to conduct telecommunications to $11 million, the Committee on Communications and Data Processing points out.

Concern for Ethnic Bulgarians in SFRY Expressed

AU0910154291 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 4 Oct 91 p 5

[Article lby Marin Raykov: "Who Will Defend Bulgaria's Western Border Areas?"]

[Text] The foreign policy doctrine of the communist regime had its own monstrous, albeit consistent, logic. It focused on the universally recognized principle of noninterference in domestic affairs, which was turned into a fetish that actually concealed the unwillingness of the authorities to bring their actions in the field of human rights in line with European standards. The regime used to loudly proclaim noninterference in the domestic affairs of neighboring countries in the futile anticipation that this would prevent the neighbors from interfering with the smooth operation of the repressive mechanism. In other words, a part of the costs related to the foreign policy insurance of the regime was paid for by relinquishing the rights and freedoms of Bulgarians living across the border.

In the case in point—our western border areas—the Bulgarians living across the border paid not only the costs but also a high interest. The lamentable notorious

agreements between Georgi Dimitrov and Josip Tito actually envisaged the exchange of Pirin Macedonia for the western border areas—that is, one ethnic Bulgarian territory in exchange for another. However, in the decades that followed, the Bulgarian Communist Party turned the issue of the Bulgarians living in the western border areas into a taboo, in the name of the "superior interests" of its foreign policy.

Today, in the name of some strange logic, those living in the western border areas are recognized by Belgrade as a Bulgarian minority, despite the fact that they speak the same language as the population of Vardar and those living along the Struma River. Furthermore, a large part of the Bulgarians living in Bosilegrad are even descendants of Vardar and Struma refugees. Although recognized, the Bulgarians living in the areas of Tsaribrod (today still Dimitrovgrad), Babusnica, Surdulica, and Bosilegrad have lived for decades in an anti-Bulgarian atmosphere and in fear of expressing any sympathy for Bulgaria or its cultural-historical traditions. It is indicative that throughout the years the number of those who openly declare their belonging to the minority steadily decreases. In 1971, only 66,000 out of about 100,000 declared themselves Bulgarians. Today, despite the natural growth, the number is slightly more than 30,000. On the other hand, the number of those who declare themselves to be members of the abstract nationality "Yugoslavs" is relatively great. The reasons behind this ethnic mimicry are obvious.

Minimum investments, eliminating the means of living, and artificially maintaining a low level of personal income—those are only some of the economic instruments for dispersing the Bulgarian population of the western border areas. Thus, at the beginning of 1991, the personal income in Bosilegrad was only 59 percent of the average income in the Republic of Serbia. Almost all enterprises are unprofitable, and those that are profitable employ...35 persons! The means allocated in 1991 to the municipality by the Republican Fund for Developing Underdeveloped Regions were diverted to Vranje, which is populated by Serbs. The situation in Surdulica, Babusnica, and Tsaribrod is identical. The population there is leaving for the richer regions in Serbia, only to be fully assimilated there.

As far as the political and cultural rights of the minority are concerned, those rights are being decreased through indirect means. The "Bratstvo" Bulgarian Publishing House in Nis is completely under Serbian-communist control. The printing of Bulgarian books has practically stopped. All conditions for eliminating teaching in Bulgarian essentially exist. (At the same time, Bulgaria demands sky-high tuition from students from the western border areas.) The Democratic Union of the Bulgarians in Yugoslavia was the only sociopolitical minority formation in Serbia that was denied registration in last year's elections. The propaganda and police pressure on this organization does not abate.

It is said that the only thing an impoverished Serb can do is attack his neighbors. It is true that Bulgaria should not provide the last communist regime in Europe with a cause for such an attack. However, today Serbia still lives in 1912. Noting this, Budapest and Tirana demand that their minorities participate in determining Yugoslavia's fate. Therefore, the concern with the status of the Bulgarian minority in Serbia should not be viewed as an act that destabilizes the situation in Yugoslavia because there can be no double standards in the sphere of human rights.

German Foreign Minister on 4-Hour Official Visit

AU0910172991 Sofia BTA in English 1711 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 9 (BTA)—Germany's Vice Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, arrived in Sofia this evening to sign the Bulgarian-German Treaty. The visit which is expected to last about four hours will start with a meeting with President Zhelyu Zhelev. Mr. Genscher and Bulgaria's Minister of Foreign Affairs Viktor Vulkov are expected to hold a press conference after the signing of the treaty.

Signs Cooperation Treaty

AU0910205691 Sofia BTA in English 2008 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Report by Khristina Gulubova: "Bulgaria, Germany Sign Treaty"]

[Text] Sofia, October 9 (BTA)—Bulgaria and Germany signed here today a Treaty on Friendly Cooperation and Partnership in Europe. It sets the guidelines in building bilateral relations on the way to a new Europe. The treaty is a recognition for the democratic changes in Bulgaria, President Zhelyu Zhelev said at today's meeting with Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Germany's vice chancellor and minister for foreign affairs.

The clauses in the document create a broad basis for cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and environmental sphere. The treaty lays stress on Bulgarian-German partnership within the framework of the European institutions. It emphasizes the support Germany will give for Bulgaria's association with the European Economic Community and its future joining of the European Community.

There are special provisions for bilateral cooperation in security. The two parties to the treaty are obliged to immediately establish direct contact should there be any threat to peace and to consult on measures to avoid and prevent tensions.

Under one of the clauses on economic relations, the two countries commit themselves to creating the most favourable legal and economic conditions for the activity of their natural and juristic persons in each of the

contacting parties. Germany will render Bulgaria support in privatization, personnel training and cooperation between small- and large-size enterprises.

The treaty was signed by the two foreign ministers, Mr. Viktor Vulkov and Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

No Military Clause in Treaty

AU0910212791 Sofia BTA in English 2057 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Report by Khristina Gulubova: "President Zhelev on Bulgarian-German Treaty"]

[Text] Sofia, October 9 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev described the Bulgaro-German Treaty signed here today as a recognition for the democratic changes in Bulgaria. This is a reliable signal from Germany and Europe that they believe in the Bulgarian people's political common sense and its desire to build a democratic constitutional country with a market economy, Dr. Zhelev said after he received Germany's Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

They discussed many aspects of the expertise Germany will provide to help Bulgaria solve its problems in the near future. Dr. Zhelev and Mr. Genscher also discussed Germany's support in the field of foreign policy for the integration of Bulgaria into the European structures.

Answering a question, President Zhelev said that within the framework of European collective security system Bulgaria will have Germany's military support but the treaty contains no special military clauses.

After the signing ceremony, which was attended by President Zhelev and Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, Mr. Genscher said that Bulgaria and Germany will use the treaty as the basis for their future fruitful relations. He said that for the Germans the treaty expresses their deep friendliness to the Bulgarian people and their confidence in the power of democracy in Bulgaria.

The treaty's main purpose is to be of benefit to the two peoples, Mr. Genscher stressed, elaborating on the clause which provides for easier contacts among young people from Bulgaria and Germany. He assured his hosts that Germany will do its best to open the road to Europe for the East European democracies.

Bulgaria's Foreign Minister Viktor Vulkov said that the new situation in Europe and the world gives Bulgaria opportunities for wider independent activity in the sphere of foreign policy and for redefining its position in the international community. "In the local, regional and global aspect we are seeking a right course for Bulgaria to the future and to new prospects. What I have in mind is the historic choice which Bulgaria has already made," Mr. Vulkov said.

Genscher's Visit Ends

AU0910202791 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] The official visit to Bulgaria by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, German foreign minister, has ended. After signing the bilateral Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Partnership in Europe, in the presence of many journalists, the leaders of Bulgarian and German diplomacy assessed the importance of the document in further developing Bulgarian-German relations in the context of a new Europe.

Our foreign minister, Viktor Vulkov, pointed out that this document has new dimensions and represents a new stage in bilateral cooperation. According to him, the treaty is part of Bulgarian efforts to travel along the correct road in its foreign policy.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher also assessed the treaty and said the following: Above all, the treaty must serve the interests of the people in our countries. Therefore, a special clause deals with the contacts between Bulgarian and German youth. This is so because it is they who will construct the future Europe, Hans-Dietrich Genscher pointed out. He also said that the Bulgarian-German treaty serves the interests of the people who accept democracy and freedom as their own values. Through this document, Germany expresses its willingness to see Bulgaria coming closer to the EC by concluding a treaty on associate membership, and, in the longer term, by becoming a full-fledged member of the EC.

Kozloduy Nuclear Plant 6th Reactor Repaired

AU0910141391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] The repair of the sixth reactor of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant has been completed. The reactor is expected to be activated late tonight or tomorrow morning [10 October].

The 1,000-megawatt fifth reactor will be reloaded with nuclear fuel and can be activated at the earliest after one month.

Study Shows Kozloduy Problem Staff, Not Safety

AU0910155491 Sofia BTA in English 1524 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 9 (BTA)—A special governmental commission studying the state of nuclear power engineering in Bulgaria claims that the greatest shortcomings of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant are related to its serious personnel problems rather than to the condition of the equipment and the safety systems. The personnel lacks the motivation to maintain a high level of exploitation and to make high quality repairs, is the conclusion drawn in the commission's report with which its chairman, Yanko Yanev acquainted a press conference today.

The main reason for the present situation in the plant is its outrageous mismanagement by almost all organizations, institutions and persons involved in its operation since the late 70's, says the report. It points out the responsibility of the ex-minister of power engineering, Mr. Nikola Todoriev, of the director general of the plant, Mr. Kiril Nikolov, and of other persons The report has been presented to the National Investigation Department and the Prosecutor General's Office. They showed interest in the document in connection with case No. 4 of the Supreme Court, aimed at revealing the reasons and the culprits for the economic crisis in Bulgaria, it was reported at the press conference.

The lack of a personnel training system at the plant, especially of operation management personnel, and the lack of a training centre lead to an inequality of the shifts, high work-loads and hence a high risk of errors and accidents, says the report.

The first generating unit of the WWER 440 type has been switched off, the second generating unit of the same type is to be switched off in ten days. They have both been in operation for 17 years.

Negotiations are underway with the U.S. Westinghouse Company for the construction of a radioactive waste processing plant in Kozloduy, it was reported at the press conference. The Bulgarian-Soviet agreement on the transportation and processing of the spent fuel is still operative but the Soviet authorities demand the transportation expenses on the territory of the USSR to be paid in hard currency, so Sofia is to consider the economic expedience of this practice, Mr. Yanev said.

Government Criticizes Nuclear Plant Management

AU0910175491 Paris AFP in English 1544 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, Oct 9 (AFP)—Management of a Bulgarian nuclear power station has been "scandalous" and most of the staff showed "extremely bad" competence and discipline, a damning government investigation said on Wednesday [9 October]. Equipment at the Kozloduy Plant was not up to modern standards of safety and the staff did not include an adequate number of highly-qualified people, the government commission said in its report. When the four first units of 440 megawatts were built in the 1970's, "seismic stability was not seriously taken into account", it said. There was no programme for permanent improvement of the plant, the head of the commission Yanko Yanev, president of the State Committee for Exploitation of Atomic Energy for Peaceful Means, told a press conference.

The decision to build the two other reactors of 1,000 megawatts was taken despite the negative opinion of Bulgarian experts. Bulgaria had also spent a lot of money because equipment supplied by the Soviet Union had been faulty. Instead of costing 1.474 billion leva (77.5 million dollars), construction of units five and six had cost 3.186 billion leva (167.7 million dollars), the report said. Most of the experts trained to work at the plant had refused to go there. Bad working conditions including a lack of water, doctors and teachers or any cultural life, and poor pay, were the cause of a "critical" shortage of staff.

The plant's units one and two have been halted, while units three and four have a minimum number of staff, while the level is below the minimum required in units five and six, and new managerial staff are being trained. "The situation is desperate. If managers continue to leave the power station, we will have to close it because of a shortage of qualified staff," the chairman of the Presidential Atomic Energy Commission, Tsvetan Bonchev, said.

Pay at the Kozloduy Plant was two and half times the level of average pay while in the West pay for nuclear plant staff was seven times higher, Yanev said. He believed that safety at the plant could be increased "10 times if the qualified staff were motivated to work there and if they had clear instructions on safety".

A member of the government commission, Ivan Uzunov, appealed to Western countries to help Bulgaria before the winter by supplying fuel and spare parts for conventional power stations to ease dependence on the nuclear plant, which has produced between 30 percent and 40 percent of the nation's energy.

Council of Europe Delegation To Observe Elections

AU1010100191 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] [Announcer] A delegation of observers from the Council of Europe is visiting our country on the occasion of the forthcoming elections scheduled to take place on 13 October 1991.

We contacted Mr. Tim Rathbone, leader of the delegation over the telephone. He made the following statement:

[Rathbone, in English fading into Bulgarian translation] My name is Tim Rathbone and I am leading the Council of Europe delegation which is expected to observe the elections next Sunday. Together with my colleagues from Spain, Hungary, Portugal, and some other countries, I am here to observe the elections and to see how the voting proceeds. It is very important to us to find out whether everything proceeds correctly, because this is a matter of great concern for all people in Bulgaria.

We are eager to meet the leaders of all parties, Mr. Rathbone said. These meetings are expected to begin in Sofia today, while we are going to tour the country tomorrow and on Saturday to see what the situation is there. It is a pleasure for me to be here, and if any political party wishes to contact us, it has the opportunity to do so, either through the International Press Center, or to meet us at the Vitosha Hotel, where we are

staying. Mr. Tim Rathbone, leader of the observers' delegation from the Council of Europe, further stated. He also expressed his gratitude for the opportunity of speaking on the radio.

British Observer Views Preelection Scene

AU0910153191 Sofia BTA in English 1448 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Report by Ognyan Branichev]

[Text] Sofia, October 9 (BTA)—Today Mr. Robert McCloy, who heads the British observers to the elections this Sunday [13 October], recommended the Bulgarians to have greater confidence in Bulgaria. He expressed regret over the "cynical" attitude to the coming local and parliamentary elections he has observed among some young people. He has heard young people say they were "disgusted" with politics.

Other young people told him about their intention to vote for democracy, he explained. Elderly people complained that with their constantly shrinking pensions they find it ever more difficult to make ends meet. They are faced with a difficult choice: for whom to vote, so that they would remain faithful to their conscience, said Mr. McCloy.

In his opinion, the atmosphere in Bulgaria is calmer than before last year's elections. Mr. McCloy headed the British observers last year, too. He said that there is less campaigning his year.

Mr. McCloy feels that now people are less apprehensive about violations of the election regulations and have greater confidence in the fairness of the elections.

Mr. McCloy heads 24 observer teams. Eighteen of them consist of representatives of British missions here. He recalled that at last year's elections the British observers visited 1,200 polling stations, i.e. 10 percent of the total polling stations in Bulgaria. He said that he and his colleagues intend to make all kinds of inspections within their observer status and to register all established breaches.

He commended the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights. In his opinion, the association is well organized and will not hesitate to register any possible violations in the elections.

As regards the alleged offenses in last year's elections, Mr. McCloy explained that during his talks with people none of them referred to personal experience, they usually quoted others' stories.

In his opinion, the election system is quite complicated and it would not be easy to calculate the votes. But he was much impressed by the diligent preparations of the election commissions he visited.

Mr. McCloy lacked the time to study the electoral lists in detail, but his opinion from what he saw is that they contain a lot of lapses.

BSP Gives News Conference on Economic Issues

AU0910142091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Report by Nina Spasova on a news conference given by Prof. Stefan Stoilov, deputy of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP, in Sofia; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Spasova] The Socialist deputy, Prof. Stefan Stoilov, pointed out at the beginning of the news conference that the BSP supports the reform and the Dimitur Popov government but criticizes the methods applied in connection with the implementation of the reform.

One can hardly speak of a gradual reform considering that it was initiated without any concept, Mr. Stoilov thinks.

Who is responsible for the fact that the Privatization Act did not reach the plenary session of the last legislalture? This is how Prof. Stoilov answered the question:

[Stoilov] The government is not the chief responsible factor for the failure to achieve any progress in the debates on the privatization law. My colleagues and I already declared on several occasions that the leadership of the Legislative Commission of the National Assembly has to be blamed in the first place and that Ginyo Ganev, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, is also partially responsible for this. We have publicized these opinions on several occasions. The bill has been ready since the end of March 1991. A conference was convened at the president's initiative, which was supposed to map out fundamental principles on the basis of which the privatization law should have been drafted. The prime minister also attended the meeting in question. The time that was spent on the conference did not produce any results whatsoever—it was wasted time—and the prime minister was forced to declare in public that the Economic Commission had drafted a satisfactory bill, which he supported. Therefore, the Council of Ministers abstained from submitting its own draft. However, despite all our efforts, no progress whatever was achieved in promoting the bill in question. A sort of peculiar lobby, supported by certain political forces outside the legislature, emerged in the National Assembly, which tried to include the problem of restitution, thus obstructing the adoption of the privatization bill.

Bulgarian Democratic Forum Announces Platform

AU0910141891 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] The Bulgarian Democratic Forum announced its basic principles during a news conference at the Sofia National Palace of Culture today. They were described

as follows: moral rebirth of the Bulgarian nation; defense of national dignity; total civic tolerance for ethnic and religious communities; a mixed market economy based on European-style trends of development; and freedom and social justice.

As a full-fledged member of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], the Bulgarian Democratic Forum will participate in the elections with the blue ballot. The leadership hopes that at least two or three of its members win a seat in the legislature.

The Bulgarian Democratic Forum is not based on social class criteria and does not strive for confrontation of class interests. The forum is not the successor of the National Union of Bulgarian Legion Members. That was stated at the end of the news conference.

Leaders Likely To Return to Parliament Listed

AU0910143091 Sofia BTA in English 1256 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 9 (BTA)—Many of the candidates who will be probably returned to parliament after the October 13 elections are already known.

The proportional representation system has actually predetermined who the new parliament will be made up by. The "star" men on the lists of the parties which overcome the four-percent barrier and those coming immediately after them will be returned. The lists are topped by the leaders of the political forces. Many persons of fame hold places that give them a good chance of being elected.

A few weeks ago the "24 CHASA" daily predicted the names of a great part of the future MP's [members of parliament]. According to the paper only one-eighth of them is still not known.

Following are the candidates who will be returned: Aleksandur Lilov, leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], Prof. Nora Ananieva, floor leader of the BSP parliamentary faction, ex Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, who leads the lists in two constituencies, Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov (BSP), young lawyer Yanaki Stoilov (BSP), Rosen Karadimov, former leader of the Bulgarian Democratic Youth Organization—the successor to the Youth Communist League, Diplomat Elena Poptodorova, BSP Deputy Chairman Dimitur Yonchev. About ten representatives of the parties which formed an election alliance with the BSP will also be elected as they hold places that makes it perfectly possible.

There are 82 incumbent MP's on the BSP lists who account for nearly one-quarter of all candidates nominated by the BSP. Most of BSP's candidates are engineers.

Lawyers prevail on the lists of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. The lists are topped by leaders and prominent functionaries of the coalition parties: SDS leader Filip Dimitrov, Prof. Elka Konstantinova, the lawyers Stoyan Ganev, Aleksandur Dzherov, Snezhana Botusharova and Ilko Eskenazi, economist Asen Michkovski, poet Edvin Sugarev, the Radical Democrats Aleksandur Yordanov and Mikhail Nedelchev. There are candidates of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party on the SDS lists too, though at the end of August the Nikola Petkov Agrarians decided to run in the elections on a ticket of their own. The three SDS-affiliated ministers in the present Cabinet lead SDS lists: Ivan Kostov, Ivan Pushkarov and Dimitur Ludzhev.

The leaders on the SDS-Centre lists are mainly Social Democrats: the most popular of them are Dr. Petur Dertliev, leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and the lawyers Petur Kornazhev and Anton Antonov. Petur Beron, former leader of the SDS, who was replaced when found to be a Secret Services man, economist Kiril Dunev, actor Petur Slabakov and philosopher Petur Staykov—both well-known members of the Ecoglasnost Political Club, poet Nedyalko Yordanov, member of the Alternative Socialist Organization (Independent)—a faction which split from the BSP and joined the SDS-Centre Election Coalition.

The "stars" on the SDS-Liberals lists are: Mayor Aleksandur Karakachanov, Lyubomir Ivanov and Solomon Pasi—both mathematicians and present MP's, Petko Simeonov, leader of the Federation of Democracy Clubs (affiliated to SDS-Liberals), popular journalist Aglaya Shamlieva.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United) Coalition has 248 candidates on its lists, ten of them being representatives of its ally—the Constitutional Forum.

The Movement for Rights and Freedoms has 140 candidates. According to Ahmed Dogan, leader of the movement, 36 of them are Bulgarians.

The following will compete in the elections as independent candidates: Emiliya Maslarova, minister of labour and social affairs, Doychin Boyadzhiev, chairman of the Rakovski Officers Legion, Ginyo Ganev, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, who was registered as an independent candidate, is not going to run in the elections.

It is worth noting that the election lists of the political forces have not been made in a particularly "gentlemanlike" way: There are few women on them. And astrologers have predicted that next year a woman will become Bulgaria's head of state.

Finance Minister Kostov Assesses Government Work

AU1010092591 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Ivan Kostov, minister of finance, by Silvia Stefanova; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Stefanova] Mr. Kostov, in an interview with the Plovdiv newspaper SVOBODA, you said that you do not identify your views on economic matters with the activities of the government within the last eight to nine months. How should we interpret such a statement?

[Kostov] The fact that I do not identify myself with the government's economic policy does not mean that I refuse to accept responsibility as a Cabinet member who has played a decisive role in the developments of the period in question. I am ready to accept my responsibility with pleasure because we accomplished considerable work and because I consider the decision of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] to participate in the government as correct in the long run. From a tactical point of view, our participation in the government guaranteed the country's peaceful development and the integrity of our economic system, and managed to prevent eruptions of violence. Our refusal to participate would have meant that the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] would rule the country single-handed, which would have resulted in unrest, ethnic conflicts, civil war, and total economic disintegration, as happened in some of our neighboring countries. [passage omitted]

[Stefanova] According to you, who should be held responsible for the country's political and economic situation?

[Kostov] Three institutions share the main responsibility: the judicial organs, the Grand National Assembly, and the government. The judicial organs should be held responsible because they did not manage to bring the legal procedures, protracted for such a long time, to an end. This is really a disgraceful fact, and we should be ashamed of it. Had the Court of Justice ordered the BSP to make restitution for the unjustifiably seized financial resources, including the party headquarters property and others, democratic changes would have been more advanced today, and the state would not be deprived of such substantial financial resources.

The legislature that caused the privatization bill to fail adopted an imperfect Law on the Land and prevented small-scale privatization by the Trade Law. If concentrated, small-scale privatization had taken place, if the Land Reform Bill had been enacted, numerous new jobs would have materialized. The new jobs should not be created by the government but solely by the new Bulgarian economic system on the basis of legislation. This is the reason that the responsibility for unemployment in Bulgaria should be assumed, above all, by the communist majority in the National Assembly, which managed to halt the reform through legislative means. Small-scale privatization was prevented because of the endless demands for social security, which, as a matter of fact, turned the budget into a social welfare budget and the state into a welfare nursemaid. [passage omitted]

[Stefanova] Will you be able to implement all of the tasks relating to the budget?

[Kostov] Though obliged to overcome the resistance of a legislature that is hostile to the government, we shall nevertheless implement the Budget Law. How did the legislature fight against us? On the pretext of protecting the interests of their constituents, the members of the majority in the National Assembly constantly tried to poke holes in our budget. They persistently forced us to reduce revenues and to increase expenditures.

[Stefanova] Do you regret your decision to become a Cabinet member?

[Kostov] No, but I regret that we are not proceeding along the most effective path. If we had decided to hold the elections in November, we would have advanced considerably. Those months through which the reform was postponed would not have existed. That is so because, in that case, a different legislature would have been elected, a legislature that would have voted for different laws. Our country would have further along the path of a market economy. Nevertheless, we managed to accomplish at least something over the past nine months, despite the violent resistance of the Communists. The question could have been handled as a political issue, and it .nould have been settled on a political basis as early as the end of 1990.

[Stefanova] How do you see the future government?

[Kostov] I hope it will be a programmatic government entrusted with specific tasks and supported by a political coalition, to the right of the center, because a future government should be able to rely on substantial legislative support. This is so because the development of reform cannot be promoted solely by the efforts of a single political formation.

Kostov Criticizes General Accounting Office Act

AU0910182391 Sofia BTA in English 1602 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 9 (BTA)—"The General Accounting Office Act which was passed by a parliament dominated by the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], former BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], contradicts the Constitution. I call on President Zhelyu Zhelev to veto this act as in its present form it obstructs the establishment of financial order in this state," the minister of finance, Mr. Ivan Kostov, told a press conference today.

Under the General Accounting Office Act, the General Accounting Office is only to monitor the implementation of the national budget, while the Constitution gives it the right to exercise financial control. The moment the Central Accounting Office Act comes into force it will replace the existing State Financial Control Act and the state will become an unfenced yard, Mr. Kostov explained. A new Financial Control Act is necessary, until its passing, someone seems to have interest in retaining chaos in Bulgaria's finances, as it would be impossible to drew up statements of defalcation

counting as real actions against representatives of the former regime's ruling crust for misappropriation of state funds.

The Constitutional Court should not approve this act at a time when the state financial control system has started operating and the results of the first audits are at hand, the minister of finance said.

Sufficient Quantity of Fuel for Winter Provided

AU0910205891 Sofia BTA in English 1959 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Burgas, October 9 (BTA)—The necessary quantities of fuels and lubricants till the end of this year have been provided. After the oil tankers "Osum" and "Montana," today the largest Bulgarian vessel, "Khan Asparukh," also anchored at the Burgas port. It carries about 70,000 tonnes of crude oil.

The quantity of crude purchased with the loan of the Japanese Export-Import Bank has thus reached 200,000 tonnes. Under the agreement with the Japanese the total quantity of crude purchased in the winter months is to total about 1 million tonnes. It is intended to reanimate Bulgarian power engineering. By the end of this year Bulgarian tankers will bring another 450,000 tonnes of crude for processing at the petrochemical works. Thus the plant's capacities will be used more fully and will at least cover the demand for fuel for industrial and household needs.

Current Unemployment Figure Exceeds 350,000

AU0910142491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Nikola Koychev, chief secretary of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, announced the latest figures of the nationwide unemployment rate at a news conference today.

By 3 October 1991, the number of unemployed exceeded 350,000. This means that the 8-percent limit determined in the social peace agreement has been almost reached.

One out of 10 university graduates is unemployed today. The greatest number of unemployed is among economists and engineers.

Mr. Koychev categorically declared that it is necessary to begin with the restructuring of the economic system as soon as possible in order to improve the employment situation.

Dienstbier Opposes Recognizing Only Slovenia

LD0910154991 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1430 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] On the issue of recognizing Croatia's and Slovenia's independence, the action Czechoslovakia will take will be in keeping with that taken by the EC countries and by other states. This is what Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said in an interview for a CSTK correspondent. He said that today Slovenia is meeting basically all conditions for the recognition, but recognizing only Slovenia would mean changing the balance of forces in Yugoslavia. Minister Dienstbier also pointed out that, right from the very beginning, Czechoslovakia has proceeded from the right of citizens to choose the forms of state, including the right to self-determination. However, this must be achieved peacefully, and all European borders must be respected. If we allowed borders to be changed on the basis of the national principle, then we would be heading fast toward a situation far worse than that before World War I.

Dienstbier on SFRY Crisis, Screening Bill

LD0910183591 Prague CSTK in English 1555 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 9 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier today told CSTK that Czechoslovakia will take concerted action with the members of the European Community (ec) and other countries on the issue of recognising the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. The two breakaway Yugoslav republics declared independence in June, but suspended further action for a three-month period, which ended at midnight October 7. The Croatian parliament voted Tuesday to secede from Yugoslavia. Dienstbier said Slovenia has fulfilled all conditions for its recognition, but the recognition of only one of the republics would change the balance of forces in Yugoslavia. Despite their declaration of secession, he said, Slovenia and Croatia want to take part in the peace conference on the Yugoslav crisis. Dienstbier noted that Czechoslovakia's stand on the isssue of recognition has not changed. Czechoslovakia from the beginning acknowledged the right of citizens to choose the form of their state as well as the right of nations to self-determination. "We are convinced that this right must be realised in a peaceful way, while respecting all human and national minority rights. All European borders must be respected as well. If we allow a change in European borders on the basis of the national principle, we will arrive at a much worse state than before the First World War", Dienstbier warned.

[Prague CSTK in English at 1557 GMT on 9 October adds in a second report on Dienstbier's interview, dateline Prague: "Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier today said the screening law, passed by the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) last Friday, does not respect the principles of presumption of innocence and denial of collective guilt. In an interview with CSTK, Dienstbier, who is chairman of the Civic Movement (OH), noted that no similar laws have been passed by Poland, Hungary or any other European countries."]

Spokesman on Treaty With Germany, Screening Law

AU0910113191 Prague CSTK in English 1952 GMT 7 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 7 (CSTK)— Czechoslovak Presidential Assistant Alexander Vondra told reporters today President Vaclav Havel and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier believe the Federal Assembly (parliament) will ratify the Czechoslovak-German friendship treaty.

The treaty was initialed today by Dienstbier and his German counterpart, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, on the first day of German President Richard von Weizsaecker's state visit to Czechoslovakia. The treaty must be approved by both countries' parliaments. Vondra confirmed that the treaty does not resolve disputed property issues. He said any claims would have to be settled in accord with existing laws.

At the briefing Czechoslovak Presidential Spokesman Michael Zantovsky refused to state clearly Havel's position on the "screening law" and whether he would sign it. Havel is considering having independent assessments made, was all Zantovsky would say.

The "screening law" excludes former Communist Party officials, collaborators with the secret police (StB), and officers of the People's Militia from leading public posts.

'Extracts' of Joint German Friendship Treaty

LD0710230291 Berlin ADN in German 1629 GMT 7 Oct 91

["Treaty Between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Czech and Slovak Federatal Republic on Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation (Extracts)"—ADN headline]

[Text] Prague/Bonn (ADN)—The Federal Republic of Germany and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic:

—determined to continue the centuries-long fruitful tradition of joint history and the results of cooperation hitherto, as well as to place mutual relations on a future-oriented basis in the spirit of good-neighborliness and friendly cooperation;

—conscious of the numerous victims which the power of force, war, and expulsion have claimed, as well as the severe suffering which was inflicted on many innocent people, and in the firm will to do away once and for all with the use of force, lawlessness, and retaliation to injustice with renewed injustice, as well as jointly endeavoring to overcome the consequences of the painful chapters of the joint history this century;

—convinced that implementation of the desire of its peoples for understanding and reconciliation will make an expressive contribution toward consolidating peace in Europe;

—deeply convinced of the need to overcome definitively the division of Europe and to create a just and lasting European peace, including cooperative security structures;

—mindful of the joint responsibility, as neighbors in Central Europe, to build this new Europe, linked by a joint heritage and social values;

—recognizing the fact that the Czechoslovak state has never ceased to exist since 1918;

—confirming the treaty of 11 December 1973 on mutual relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany and on the invalidity of the Munich Agreement of 29 September 1938;

—mindful of the significant contribution which the completed unification of Germany and the democratic changes in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic signify for a united, democratic Europe;

—in appreciation of the treaty of 12 September 1990 on the final regulation of relations with Germany;

—mindful of the significance the Federal Republic of Germany's EC membership and the intensification of cooperation between the EC and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic have for their future relations and paying due respect to membership of the two states in the European Council;

—mindful of our peoples' creative contribution to the common cultural heritage of Europe and the deep mutual enrichment of their cultures, as well as the significance of the cultural exchange for mutual understanding;

—convinced that the younger generation has a special role in shaping new relations and cooperation between their peoples;

have agreed:

Article 1

(1) The parties to the treaty will fashion their relations in the spirit of good-neighborliness and friendship. They aim for comprehensive, peaceful cooperation in a spirit of partnership in all areas. They will expand and deepen their dialogue in an atmosphere of mutual trust.

(2) They aim for creating a Europe in which human rights and basic freedoms, as well as the basic principles of democracy and the state based on the rule of law, are respected and in which borders lose their divisive nature through mutual understanding and will also be overcome by the abolition of economic and social differences.

Article 2

The parties to the treaty, in shaping their relations and on questions of peace, security, and cooperation in Europe and the world, are guided, in particular, by the following principles:

The supreme aim of their policy is to preserve and consolidate peace and effectively prevent armed conflicts and any kind of war.

They place the human being, his dignity, and his rights; concern for the survival of mankind; and the preservation of the natural environment at the center of their policy.

They act in accordance with international law, especially the UN Charter, and fulfill their international obligations in good faith.

They are guided by the Helsinki Final Acts of 1 August 1975 and the CSCE documents adopted later, especially the Charter of Paris for a new Europe of 21 November 1990.

They respect the sovereign equality, the territorial unity, the inviolability of the borders, and the political independence of all states, as well as the principle of noninterference in internal affairs and the principle banning the threat to use force.

They reaffirm the right of all peoples to determine their destiny freely and without external interference and to shape their political, economic, social, and cultural development according to their own wishes.

Article 3

(1) The parties to the treaty confirm the borders existing between them. They confirm that they have no territorial claims against each other and that they will not make such claims in the future.

(2) They undertake unreservedly to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other treaty partner.

(3) They will conclude a treaty on establishing, correcting, surveying, marking, and preserving the mutual border on the basis of joint cartographical documentation and on the establishment of a standing joint border commission.

Article 4

(1) The parties to the treaty reaffirm that they will refrain from threat or use of force which is aimed against the territorial integrity or the political independence of the other treaty partner or is in any other way incompatible with the aims and principles of the UN Charter or the Helsinki Final Acts.

(2) They will solve all their disputes exclusively by peaceful means and never use any of their weapons lest it be for individual or collective self-defense. They will never and under no circumstances be the first to use armed force against each other.

Article 5

(1) The parties to the treaty will support the process of security and cooperation in Europe on the basis of the Helsinki Final Acts and the CSCE followup documents, especially the Charter of Paris for a new Europe, and further strengthen and develop this process specifically by exploiting and developing appropriately the newly established institutions.

(2) These efforts aim to strengthen peace, stability, and security and to encourage Europe to grow together as a unified area of human rights, democracy, and state legality.

Article 6

The parties to the treaty demand comprehensively the strengthening of security and the development of cooperative structures of security for the whole of Europe. With this aim, they will support the establishment and activity of permanent institutions and organs. In particular, they will cooperate to exploit the new opportunities for joint efforts in the sphere of security.

Article 7

If there arises a situation which one of the parties to the treaty feels threatens peace, violates peace, or may give rise to dangerous international complications, then both parties to the treaty will cooperate within the framework of the procedures of the CSCE and the United Nations. They will get in touch with each other immediately and will try to coordinate their positions and achieve agreement on measures appropriate to ameliorate the situation or to overcome it.

Article 8

The parties to the treaty support reducing their armed forces and armaments through binding and effectively checkable agreements down to the lowest possible level necessary for defense but not allowing attack. They will commit themselves to—also jointly—the multilateral and bilateral extension of confidence-building and stabilizing, as well as other disarmament control measures, which strengthen stability and trust and lead to greater openness.

Article 9

The parties to the treaty agree that the economic reconstruction process which has been introduced in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic ought to be supported through international cooperation. The Federal Republic of Germany is prepared—bilaterally, as well as multilaterally—to work toward support of the economic development of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in the framework of a fully developed social market economy. This should create the conditions for considerable reduction of the differences in the economic and social development in Europe.

Article 10

(1) With the conclusion of an association agreement between the EC and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, the EC, its member states, and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic lay the basis for a political and economic association of the Czech and Slovak Republic to the EC.

(2) The Federal Republic of Germany will support the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic's attempts to meet the requirements for full EC membership.

Article 11

(1) The parties to the treaty will hold regular consultations at various levels to secure the further development and deepening of their bilateral relations and to agree on their positions regarding international issues.

(2) Consultations at head of government level will take place as often as necessary, but at least once a year.

Article 15

(1) The parties to the treaty will continue to develop their economic and financial cooperation in all areas. They will, within the framework of their legislation and their commitments to international treaties, including the Federal Republic of Germany's commitments due to its EC membership, create the most favorable conditions, particularly in the economic, financial, judicial, and organizational areas, for natural and legal persons, for free enterprise and economic activities.

(2) The parties to the treaty confirm their willingness to work together, considering the interests of both sides and the cooperation with other countries within the framework of multilateral financial institutions, in particular the IMF, the World Bank, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Article 17

(1) The parties to the treaty agree that preemptively averting threats to the environment and preserving the natural bases of life are indispensable preconditions for flourishing economic and social development. They affirm their determination to continue cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection on the basis of existing agreements and to further develop this cooperation using treaties.

(2) They will devote special attention to environmental protection in the border regions and to crossborder environmental protection. (...)

Article 18

(2) In accordance with the principles of good-neighborliness, they will try to bring about the establishment and the development of as large a number as possible of border crossings at the joint border, both for rail and road traffic, as well as for pedestrians. In so doing, they will also take environmental considerations and those relating to local traffic planning into account.

(3) They will make every effort to improve and accelerate customs and border clearing procedures and to develop further cooperation between the customs and border administrations.

(4) They will take appropriate measures to support and ease travel and tourism. (...)

Article 20

(1) The parties to the treaty will fulfill as legally binding obligations, at the very least, the political obligations set down in the CSCE documents, particularly the document of the 29 June 1990 CSCE Copenhagen meeting on the human dimension.

(2) Therefore, the members of the German minority in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic—that is, people who hold Czechoslovak citizenship, who are of German ancestry, or who are committed to the German language, culture, and tradition—have the right, as individuals or together with other members of their group, to express their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identity and develop it further without any attempts being made to assimilate them against their will. They have the right to make use of their human rights and basic liberties fully and effectively, without discrimination and in full equality before the law.

(3) Membership of the German minority in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic is a personal decision made by each individual, which must not cause any disadvantage for the individual concerned.

(4) Every member of the German minority in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic is obliged, allowing for the rules mentioned above, to act like every citizen of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and to fulfill the commitments he has according to the laws of this state.

(5) The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic makes possible and eases within the framework of the laws valid in it promotional measures by the Federal Republic of Germany to the benefit of the German minority or its organizations.

Article 21

(1) Persons of Czech or Slovak descent in the Federal Republic of Germany have the right, individually or in concert with the other members of their group, to preserve and to develop freely their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identity. They have the right to exercise fully and effectively their human rights and basic freedoms without any discrimination and in full equality before the law. (...)

Article 35

(...) This treaty is valid for 10 years. Afterward, it will be extended by five years at a time as long as one of the parties to the treaty does not give advance notice one year before the expiry of the relevant period of validity.

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Appendix: Letter from Minister Genscher to Minister Dienstbier

Dear Mr. Minister,

In connection with today's signing of the treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic on good-neighbourliness and friendly cooperation, I would like to recall the fact that during the negotiations the following declarations were made:

1. The Government of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic declares that the prospect of the full integration of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic into the EC, mentioned in Article 10, will to an increasing degree create the possibility of citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany being able to settle in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

2. Both sides are in agreement in stating: This treaty does not deal with issues of property. (...)

Assembly Declaration Stresses Constitutionality

LD1010094191 Prague CSTK in English 1936 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 9 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) today issued a declaration saying that its deputies are aware of their responsibility for the fate of the state and together with the president of the republic accentuate that all steps taken must be in harmony with the Constitution.

The declaration is a response to the "Citizens' Appeal" addressed to parliament which was launched September 20 by Pavel Tigrid, a prominent Czech journalist and advisor to President Vaclav Havel, and the Slovak initiative "For a Common State," started in reaction to the initiative "For a Sovereign Slovakia."

The declaration says draft bills and resolutions on holding a referendum on the future of the federation will be discussed by the Czech and Slovak National Councils (parliaments). They will then go to the 18th joint session of the House of the People and the House of Nations which opens on October 29. The deputies will seek an agreement on the formulation of the question for the referendum and other issues.

The declaration appeals to the republic's parliaments to accelerate discussions on the treaty on coexistence between the two republics to enable the federal parliament to work more intensively on the preparation of a federal constitution.

Assembly Views Communist Property Nationalization

LD1010093291 Prague CSTK in English 1622 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Prague 8 Oct (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) today discussed a federal government report reviewing the implementation of laws on the nationalisation of property owned by the former communist parties of Czechoslovakia and Slovakia.

By the beginning of this year, according to the report, the state had taken possession of property belonging to the Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSC) in the Czech Republic valued at 459 million crowns ($15.3 million), and property in Slovakia valued at 739 million crowns ($24.4 million). So far part but not all of the property of the former Socialist Union of Youth (SSM), estimated at 2,900 million crowns ($96.6 million), has also been turned over to the state.

The report expresses concern that property confiscated in the Czech republic is lying idle. Presenting the report, Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said organisations have been set up in Slovakia to put former Communist Party property to use, but similar organisations are lacking in the Czech Republic.

Responding to the report, the deputies accused the government of dragging its feet on setting deadlines for the seizure of Communist Party property as well as in appointing officials to oversee the process.

Hungary Supports Peace-Keeping Force in SFRY

LD0910164391 Budapest MTI in English 0834 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] London, October 9 (MTI)—Besides the arms and possible oil embargo against Yugoslavia, the Hungarian Government is also proposing military control over these measures to Western Europe, with repeated UN involvement, Tamas Katona, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told MTI's correspondent after his London talks with representatives from the British Government and the deputy secretary-general of the Western European Union.

As Hungary's former predictions about the Yugoslav danger have, unfortunately, become reality, the West now pays more attention to the Hungarian opinion, Tamas Katona said. This time we emphasized a few key concepts: Eastern European stability, of which Hungary is one of the last islands in the region, measures against the breakthrough of nationalism and the enforcement of the ban on violence, he added. We support the peace-keeping role of the Western European Union, although there is little chance of keeping peace by such means, he said.

The British Government circles appreciate Hungary's restrained attitude so far, its successful efforts to prevent the Hungarian population of Vojvodina from becoming victims, and that there is no danger of nationalism in the country. They also approved of Hungary's openness to foreign military control, and that it did not rush to recognize Slovenia, or Croatia, Tamas Katona said, and reiterated Hungary's support for the simultaneous recognition of the six Yugoslav republics, possibly within the framework of a confederation, but at the same time with a similar move of the European communities.

True, this might give an improper signal to the Soviet republics, Tamas Katona added.

The Hungarian Government advocates the idea for the planned rapid deployment force of the Western European Union to operate outside the territorial jurisdiction of NATO as well, the foreign secretary of state stated, adding that Hungary's rapprochement to NATO was through constant diplomatic efforts. NATO membership can be attained in connection with EC membership, Katona said, and expressed his hope that the November NATO summit in Rome will move to extend the defence umbrella over Central Europe.

Finance Ministry: Current Account Balance Favorable

AU1010111791 Budapest MTI in English 1440 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, 8 October (MTI-ECONEWS)—A Hungarian Ministry of Finance analysis of economic trends in Hungary reveals that, in spite of a continued decline in production and a worsening foreign trade balance during the summer months, Hungary's current account situation is favourable.

The ministry forecasts that, by the end of the year, exports will have dropped to 7-10 percent below last year's figure following a much heavier than expected drop (60 percent instead of 30) in exports to the former COMECON countries, and the Soviet Union in particular. As a result of almost full-scale liberalization, imports are projected to decrease by 2 percent at most. This is in spite of a drop in both domestic market demand and in the import of materials and components.

Customs statistics show that Hungarian exports—calculated at daily forint rates—grew by 1-2 percent in August over July and exceeded the figure of August 1990 by 17 percent. The increase in imports was 7-8 percentage points in August and the figure stood 56 percent above that of August last year. At the end of August, the foreign trade balance showed a deficit of 1.4 billion USD.

Most of August's increase in exports came from bigger sales in the developing and East European countries, and the Soviet Union in particular. It was primarily the value and not the quantity of imports that grew in August, as a result of more expensive energy, consumer goods, and machinery imports. By the end of August, import items not entered in the current account amounted to 700 million USD. These include materials required for commission work, leased machinery, machinery and equipment contributed to joint ventures, etc.

At the end of August the current account showed a surplus of 180 million USD. Preliminary figures suggest that the surplus stood at 300 million USD at the end of September.

The Ministry of Finance predicts that the trade balance will show a deficit of 1.2-1.3 billion USD by the end of the year, calculated on the basis of customs statistics. The deficit of the current account is expected to amount to 500-600 million USD by the end of the year. In spite of the better than expected state of the current account, Hungary will remain a net borrower this year.

The hard currency reserves of the country are expected to near 2.5 billion USD, and allowing for a considerable amount of profit on exchange rate fluctuations, the country's net foreign debt will probably drop below 15 billion USD this year. These calculations do not include the inflow of foreign working capital which is projected to exceed 1 billion USD this year.

Leaders Receive Ukraine's Fokin; Agreement Signed

AU1010103391 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5-6 Oct 91 p 1

[Piotr Koscinski report: "We Are Seeking a Common Path"]

[Text] Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin has paid a brief working visit to Poland. He was received by President Lech Walesa and held talks with Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

An important part of the visit was the conclusion of a Polish-Ukrainian economic agreement, signed in the presence of both prime ministers by Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister Dariusz Ledworowski and Ukrainian Economy Minister Anatoliy Minchenko.

"I think we have taken a major step forward today in cooperation between our countries," Prime Minister Fokin told RZECZPOSPOLITA. "As neighboring countries, Poland and the Ukraine have common traditions and a common history. Therefore, they should find a common path and help each other. I am very pleased with my talks and meetings in Warsaw. I think the economic agreement provides a good basis for concluding a political agreement."

Despite appearances, the Ukrainian prime minister's visit was not just another visit by the prime minister of a neighboring country. The Ukrainian guest was accompanied by three ministers, one minister without portfolio, and the foreign minister's first deputy.

In this way, the Ukraine has demonstrated the importance it attaches to relations with Poland. The recent visit by Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko brought about the signing of important documents, including a consular agreement. Poland has announced a de facto recognition of the Ukraine's independence.

Agreement Provisions

AU1010102391 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5-6 Oct 91 pp 1-2

["EW"-signed report: "Polish-Ukrainian Economic Agreement"]

[Text] Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister Dariusz Ledworowski and Ukrainian Economy Minister Anatoliy Minchenko signed an intergovernmental agreement on trade and economic cooperation in Warsaw on 4 October.

The agreement provides foundations for extensive economic cooperation between the two countries based on new principles governing trade and settlements.

The two countries have accorded each other most favored nation status in the field of tariffs, taxes, charges and other formalities.

A special role has been assigned to direct cooperation between enterprises as well as between voivodships and border regions.

Cooperation between the two partners will particularly apply to areas such as industry, agriculture, construction, commerce, transportation, telecommunications, environmental protection, and tourism.

Settlements will be discharged in convertible currencies and barter trade will also be possible.

As the two ministers stressed, while talking to journalists following the signing of the agreement, the agreement will perform a great role in reviving and expanding cooperation, which has diminished over the past two to three years. Experts on both sides will work out detailed provisions. A further important matter will be the conclusion of agreements, in the near future, between the Polish National Bank and the Bank of the Ukraine.

The Ukraine is a partner with enormous potential. It possesses half the Soviet reserves of iron ore and 80 percent of its sulfur. Its natural resources include large deposits of uranium, manganese, potassium sulfate, and raw materials, including gold, which was recently discovered.

Poland is offering to supply the Ukraine with goods produced by its electrical engineering industry, some raw materials and semi-finished goods, as well as consumer goods and foodstuffs produced by industry.

The contacts that have been established thus far indicate that the Ukraine may propose to sell Polish automobiles, non-ferrous metals, rolled steel products, pig iron, electric power, iron ore, and construction materials.

Foreign Ministry Official Views Soviet Treaty

LD0910173191 Warsaw PAP in English 1509 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 9 (PAP)—A Polish Foreign Ministry official opined on Wednesday that the most important political point of a Polish-Soviet treaty on good-neighbourly relations and friendly cooperation was that the document would respect Poland's sovereignty and show both countries' strivings to develop good relations, the factors that have not coincided with each other since 1945.

Director of the Department for Europe in the Foreign Ministry Jerzy Sulek, who represented Poland during the negotiations that ended last Monday with the two sides agreeing on the text of the document, said one could expect the treaty to be initialled in late October during a Polish visit by Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin.

The document, to cover the period of ten years, contains an article on both sides' approach to Soviet republics that respects their declarations on sovereignty and legal acts on independence, a reliable source said.

Jerzy Sulek also said on Wednesday the 12th round of negotiations on the Soviet troops pull-out from Poland, to be held within the coming fortnight, should bring about the final version of an agreement concerning the issue.

According to Sulek, the talks should settle the date for the Soviet troops withdrawal from this country and produce an agreement on the transit via Poland of Soviet soldiers stationed in Germany. He added the USSR owed Poland several tens millions Swiss francs for transit services.

The Soviet foreign minister announced on Wednesday that his country was ready to initial treaties with Poland and Hungary, and added he expected the leaders of those countries to meet with President Mikhail Gorbachev soon to sign the documents.

Minister Boris Pankin told newsmen in Moscow that the date of his visit to Poland had not been fixed yet but voiced hope that the initialling of the Polish-Soviet treaty would open up possibilities for the leaders of the two countries to meet.

Pankin referred to his crowded timetable that makes it impossible to arrange definite dates of his meetings with the Polish and Hungarian counterparts and spoke about his planned tour of the Middle East as part of preparations carried out by the USSR and the U.S. for a peace conference to settle the Israeli-Arab conflict.

Walesa Interviewed on Tripartite Cooperation

AU0910173791 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 4-6 Oct 91 p 7

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by Robert Walenciak; place and date not given: "Poland and the Triad"]

[Text] [Walenciak] Mr. President, does Poland consider membership in the Triad a way of speeding up our entry into the EC? To what extent do you think cooperation between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary would strengthen our bargaining power with the East and the West?

[Walesa] Initially, our aims were different. Each of the three countries of the Triad wanted to make its own attempt to cooperate with the rest of Europe. The type of economy toward which we are heading permits no halfway measures. Our goods are not up to Western standards; they are not competitive on Western markets. However, the economies of our three countries—Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary—are comparable. The products, industries, and technologies of all three countries are similar. Each country's dependence on the former CEMA market was also similar. We used to be more "dependent" on each other, not just politically, but also economically. Now we are putting the economy on the right track. That is a difficult and painful process. The West will wait for us. We have to be more dynamic. We must assimilate knowledge more quickly and cooperate with each other better.

Whenever I have talked about association with the EC, I have always spoken on behalf of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. The success of our reforms will be a good example for other postcommunist countries and will make room for others to follow our pattern. The West's conduct is correct from its own point of view, but from Poland's point of view it is unacceptable. The EC considers itself more democratic than other countries, especially those in Central and Eastern Europe. And yet we have already opened ourselves up. It is enough to take a look at the streets of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, and see how many Western goods there are in the shops. Are there any Polish goods in Western shops?

We do not want special privileges, but we do want something that we have learned from the West—equal opportunities and a fair start. It is up to us how we attain our objective, but an awareness of joint interests must remain the essence of our cooperation,. We must bear in mind that there is more that unites us than divides us and that we will reach our goals more quickly by cooperating with each other than by competing against each other.

[Walenciak] Is there a possibility that the countries of the Triad will decide on an area of joint trade before they join the EC?

[Walesa] The Triad's philosophy consists of joint initiatives and joint cooperation, which is far better than it was one year ago. Establishing an area of joint trade is something that must be implemented quickly. Border areas are already cooperating with each other. They are naturally equipped for joint activity in all spheres—economic, cultural, and ethnic. The integration of our three countries is the only solution. We lie along the North-South axis. Trade along this route will be impossible if we are divided. If we help ourselves, then others will help us.

Our borders must be penetrable. Cooperation along our borders must serve as an example for the kind of cooperation the interior of our countries must pursue. Borders must not divide. That is an artificial division. Nature, civilization, and disasters like Chernobyl know no borders. Only man creates artificial barriers, draws national boundaries, builds bunkers and minefields. The development of civilization heads in the opposite direction—an overcoming of barriers and an integration of activity, while preserving the distinct identity of each country. Let borders be restricted to maps. Life necessitates activity that transcends them. We are close neighbors, yet we are still not cooperating with each other as much as we could. Contacts between us should reach the stage where factory directors may telephone each other, joint banks exist, and new border crossings are built.

[Walenciak] What ideas do the countries of the Triad have on how to safeguard central Europe's security?

[Walesa] The example of Yugoslavia is a warning to us. The emerging nationalisms could lead to conflicts, which would be a great danger for Europe. The situation in the Soviet Union is still uncertain. The ethnic jigsaw puzzle in the new countries may lead to various ethnic, territorial, and religious clashes that are difficult to envisage. The Triad should play a conspicuous role in developing an international position toward the events in the East. The new countries coming into existence along our borders should become part of the CSCE system as quickly as possible. Their adoption of EC principles and instruments will considerably facilitate the process of constructing a new statehood for them and of establishing international relations with them. A new NATO strategy is required, especially toward our countries. This will consolidate the European nature of our partnership.

It is essential to form international armed forces in Europe under the auspices of the United Nations. Their very existence would be reassuring. It would prevent conflicts and tragic outbreaks of violence. One must not allow any kind of no-man's-land or strategic vacuum to appear in Europe. Poland holds the view that European security must be indivisible. Our countries are not forming an alliance because, in today's Europe, security cannot be based on bilateral or trilateral guarantees. Today, security must be collective.

[Walenciak] Does Poland consider the present borders between the Triad members to be permanent and unchangeable?

[Walesa] Poland has ratified the treaty on the inviolability of modern European borders. We need strong partners, both Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Internal squabbling will not help implement the reforms, and a lot remains to be done. Western Europe unites, not divides, and Eastern Europe must do the same. The West has overtaken us, but there the situation is clear and stable. We are still in the process of learning, and we still make mistakes. Europe already knows where forceful solutions of ethnic and border problems can lead. We should all draw conclusions from this.

Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary form the "northern half" of the Hexagonale. Membership in this organization permits an even more energetic role in building a North-South axis in our part of Europe. This would cancel out the East's traditional dependence on the West, and would also encourage a network of European regional links. Integration, not division, should be the objective of our joint actions.

Democratic Union Leader Views Elections, Economy

AU1010104691 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 30 Sep 91 p 11

[Interview with Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Democratic Union Sejm candidate for Wroclaw, by Wojciech Maziarski; place and date not given: "Compromise Has Been Well Learned"]

[Excerpts] [Maziarski] Before the presidential elections, there was a split in the "Solidarity" camp over personalities, a split that produced two wings. Today, those divisions, between the supporters of Lech Walesa and the supporters of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, still persist.

[Frasyniuk] I think that your analysis is wrong. The split in the "Solidarity" camp did not arise over personalities, but over profound substantive differences. We differed over how we envisaged the state and the exercise of government.

What is the Polish political scene like today? That is something that no one knows. In any case, I am not in a position myself to describe the programmatic character of the majority of groupings that have surfaced in this campaign. I am hearing about them now for the first time.

I think that we really are seeing the disintegration of the bloc that was previously linked to the Belwedere Palace, whereas the Democratic Union is in a strong position. The union is surely the one grouping that has crystallized out of "Solidarity."

[Maziarski] But it still has a vague profile. One can get the impression that it was formed according to a hodgepodge principle of left, right, Europe—everything rolled into one. Can one create a cohesive political organism in this way?

[Frasyniuk] Yes, one can. That is evident in situations in which we have to agree on a position on exceptionally difficult issues. In fact, the internal diversity that there is makes it possible for us to hold a business-like discussion, which leads to the formulation of compromise solutions on, for example, the issue of abortion. [passage omitted]

[Maziarski] Who would you say is the Democratic Union's most serious rival in the elections?

[Frasyniuk] The Catholic Campaign. Their trump card is that they continually cite the church and say that they have the church's support. Second, they have chosen an extremely confusing name. All the poll ratings show that when it appeared under its own name, the Christian National Union had little support, but by transforming itself into the Catholic Campaign, it has been able to attract the support of many voters, especially those who are not familiar with politics.

[Maziarski] The Democratic Union is increasingly distancing itself from the government's economic reform program, although it was formed as a group that supported the Balcerowicz plan. Have you changed your views?

[Frasyniuk] Yes, to some extent. Initially, it seemed that market mechanisms would be an effective means to regulate the economy. Meanwhile, there is still no market or competition in the state sector. State industry still has a monopoly. There is little sense in continuing to wait for the market to exercise a salutary influence.

So, we believe that the government should pursue a resolute economic policy. Of course, the rules for the pursuit of economic activity should remain clear and should not change overnight, but preferential conditions should be introduced for all those who create new jobs, invest in new technology, and possess the ability to succeed. These preferential conditions should apply to both the state and private sectors.

The government should clearly indicate which plants have no prospect of surviving, and it should decide to institute bankruptcy proceedings in a timely fashion. This would facilitate negotiations between employers and employees, and in cases such as Walbrzych, it would create an opportunity for local government and banks to take part in such talks. With this kind of extensive cooperation, it would be easier to draw up restructuring programs.

The absence of this kind of policy means that work forces are often surprised by the government's decisions, which in turn gives rise to dissatisfaction, opposition, and fears about the future. [passage omitted]

Report Probes Internal Affairs Ministry Activity

LD0810010491 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1310 GMT 4 Oct 91

[Summary of the "Report on the Activities of the Sejm's Extraordinary Commission for Studying the Activities of the Internal Affairs Ministry, MSW, 1981-1988, Document No. 1104" delivered by Commission Chairman Jan Rokita at the Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, may it please the House: Almost exactly two years have passed since, at the outset of its activity, the House passed a resolution creating the Extraordinary Commission for Studying the Activities of the Internal Affairs Ministry. By the will of all the parliamentary floor groups at that time, I was charged with the chairman's duties. These two years have been a difficult period for me and for the small group of deputies who decided to work in this commission.

First, we tried calmly and methodically to fulfill the task entrusted to us by the House—the task of studying, as it transpired, 122 cases altogether of mysterious deaths, where there was a suspicion that they were connected to the criminal activities of MSW functionaries, deaths where, more often than not, no one secured evidence essential for formulating an assessment and evidence was often deliberately erased. This obviously made this study difficult.

Second, a whole series of circumstances obstructed our activities. We worked in a very small group. The Sejm equipped us with no investigative powers. We could neither summon nor formally question anyone. Finally, the internal affairs minister did not allow commission members into the archives, and extracting—so to speak—successive bits of material from the Ministry proved to be as much an arduous task as one requiring an exceptional amount of time, especially as the last two ministers in this Ministry only themselves began to slowly uncover various new materials in their archives.

Third, for the entire duration of our work, we felt that our activities were taking place under the constant pressure of public opinion, which, in the name of a valid sense of justice, was awaiting speedy results in the form of the discovery and punishment of murderers, results that would be made public. I must admit that I feel particularly bitter when I think that the commission was even accused of what was basically the criminal obscuring of the past and the harboring of perpetrators of killings. Unfortunately, despite our suggestions, the prosecutor's office refused to protect the commission's good name against slander. Nevertheless, I think the report being presented to the House is the most appropriate answer to these dishonest charges.

Before I briefly discuss conclusions drawn from the material examined by us, I must mention those without whom the commission's work would have not been possible. I think about 22 expert lawyers who devoted hundreds of hours of their work to cooperating with the commission. I consider it mine and the House's duty to thank them, especially the three experts whose work had a decisive impact on the shape of the report presented to the House today, namely lawyers Andrzej Zalewski and Wojciech Krajewski and Judge Boleslaw Kowalczyk.

May it please the House: The task the House set for the commission was to find an answer to a certain question: Had everything been done—as representatives of the authorities then kept assuring us—in the cases of those 122 mysterious deaths to explain them, to uncover perpetrators of unlawful killings, and to bring them to justice? Today, our inquiry makes it possible to answer the question asked two years ago. The answer is negative; no, not much had been done. We even say—and this is a main thesis of our report—that everything—or at least a lot—was done to prevent clarification of the homicides and to protect perpetrators from punishment. To this end, many representatives of the state—the law enforcement apparatus, in particular—committed new crimes. The commission came to this conclusion after a long search and analysis of hundreds of tons of records and documents. The records and documents referred to in the report set the basis for our final conclusions. We supplemented them with other sources only occasionally. Specifically, we asked people for additional explanations only when it was indispensable to interpreting written documents. We asked for assistance from a group of MSW officials and from people from the apparatus of power involved in organizing the Lubin pacification on 31 August 1982. Nearly everybody refused. We understood the reasons for that, and we stopped any further attempts. After all, the people concerned, who in the future could find themselves in the situation of suspects or defendants, by giving evidence before the commission, could have deprived themselves of the right to refuse to give evidence, a right due them, or could have

given false evidence. The court did not give the commission the right to gather evidence on the basis defined by the penal code. Giving false statements before the Sejm commission would have to be characterized as misleading the supreme body of power in the Republic.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I now present a summary of the most important detailed conclusions that derive from the material gathered and examined by the commission. Of the 122 cases of deaths, in 24 cases, we did not find any ground for further investigation, and we agreed with the prosecutors' decisions. In the commission's opinion, these are the cases not related to activities of MSW officials, as death was either natural or it was impossible to establish perpetrators of homicides. In the remaining 98 cases, the commission formulated various detailed conclusions concerning each of them. You will find these conclusions in the extensive, 1000-page, Part Six of the report, which, because of its size, we could not give to all deputies. However, it will always be available at the commission's secretariat.

In 88 instances, the basic motion concerns undertaking—beginning or reopening—criminal proceedings that either had not been embarked upon—on the assumption that no crime had been committed at all—or were conducted in such an incorrect way—often, one might even say, in such a criminally incorrect way—that the perpetrators of criminal acts—as a rule, murders—were not discovered or were discovered and illegally freed of responsibility. Out of this figure, 24 or 25 people—the difference is linked to the fact that the judiciary must establish definitively the number of fatalities during the controlling of Lubin—24 or 25 people met their deaths as a result of the repression during martial law of public forms of social resistance, mainly strikes and street demonstrations. A further 30 deaths were, in the commission's opinion, the result of crimes—as a rule, murders—committed by individual officials of the MSW—as a rule, murders. The commission feels that the remaining 37 deaths are unclear, in terms of MSW officials' involvement and are open to doubt, but criminal proceedings have been carried out in a way that is so blameworthy that they need to be started from scratch.

May it please the House: These statistics alone, concerning the period following 12 December 1981 are, it seems, quite shocking. I would like to explain more fully what the commission understands when it speaks of deaths being the result of crimes committed by MSW officials. In no way does this phrase have anything to do with prejudging guilt or criminal responsibility. In a law abiding state, such judgment can be given only by the court. Such formulation has been merely an assessment of facts investigated by the commission. The commission expects that, as regards, in particular, nearly 170 persons—above all, named functionaries and prosecutors—law enforcement and administration of justice bodies will assess their deeds from the point of view of the penal law and define the scale of their responsibility. I want to emphasize very strongly that the commission itself has not ruled, as it could not rule, on anybody's guilt or anybody's responsibility.

May it please the House: The material examined by the commission can be divided into five basic categories. I will now present conclusions derived from each of them.

First, the commission examined material concerning the activities of the MSW to repress public defiance in the first days of martial law using concentrated forces of the MSW and the troops. I talk about the concentrated force because, as ex post facto calculations indicate, mobilization for the so-called Operation W encompassed 249,000 MSW functionaries, 49,000 militia reservists, and 80,000 troops nationwide. Of course, the commission's investigation in this field is only of fragmentary character, which is limited to those cases where unlawful killings were the result of the activities of the concentrated forces. Therefore, we investigated the case of the pacification of Wujek colliery on 16 December and, in this connection, the case of the pacification of Manifest Lipcowy colliery a day before. There were no fatalities, but the same perpetrators fired live ammunition at an unspecified number of people—into the crowd, to put it bluntly. The third pacification whose result was the crime of manslaughter took place 15-17 December in Gdansk. All those events are linked by certain common features.

First, the joint forces of the MSW and the Army were used there and, moreover, the command was always held by officials of the MSW, even those of lower ranks. The Army played a secondary role. What is more, as it happened in the Wujek mine, the independent pacification action by the Army alone was never allowed, even when it was known in advance that the strikers were prepared to surrender in the (?hall) itself without a fight and without resistance if MSW units withdrew from the area. In Wujek, the command of the operation chose a military pacification aided by firearms, not accepting the proposal by the miners to surrender peacefully to the Army.

Second, in the activities of the MSW forces, there was, in the opinion of the commission, consent from superiors for officials to use firearms. This is indicated first by the full freedom that officials had to use live ammunition, the freedom to issue and deliver it without any serious calculations, in a manner evidently contrary to obligatory regulations in this area. This is also demonstrated, in the commission's opinion, by the fact that an operational plan was drawn up taking into consideration the direction of fire, the same one that occurred in the Wujek mine. In the case of the events in the Wujek mine, a small special platoon was brought into the area of conflict by a decision of the operation command, a narrow group of officers equipped with firearms who, without entering into a direct attack with the strikers, fired at them from a distance of between 8.5 and 65 metres, often from behind the backs of an armed civic militia motorized reserve cordon. The MSW carried out ministerial control during the entire operation. Thus,

there was complete supervision by representatives of the main offices of the MSW, of the minister and of his deputy, and even partially the direct involvement of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Despite this, no one issued an order forbidding the deployment of people to the pacified mine who had already twice shot at people in the previous days. After the next killings, no one ordered the most elementary securing of the most important evidence in the investigation, after all—weapons and ammunition. This all gives a picture of the situation, in which it can be ascertained without the slightest doubt that the command of the operation at least consented to the fact that people were shot at; in the most far-reaching interpretation, it can be stated that the killings were planned by that leadership.

Another kind of material concerns independent—that is, those in which the Army did not participate—actions of the organized MSW forces against large groups of people during the suppression of activities on 31 August 1982. In two instances, in Lubin and in Wroclaw, these actions resulted in murder, yet the MSW forces were used that day to control demonstrations in at least 30 Polish towns. Moreover, the actions of the MSW forces in Lubin were of a special nature. The commission's investigations show that the Lubin operation was prepared in advance by special voivodship staff in the voivodship headquarters of the civic militia in Legnica, as well as in the regional structures of the MSW, making ready the so-called plan for ensuring public law and order in Lubin on 31 August from 1400 to 2200.

Additional ambulances were brought in from, among other places, Glogow and Legnica—that is, towns—and this is noteworthy—in which street demonstrations were taking place at the very same time, demonstrations as large as those in Lubin, around 5,000 people. It transpires from both the plan I just mentioned and the course taken by the staff that the use of firearms against demonstrators was envisaged, citing a decision of the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] on this matter. Unfortunately, it was these very (?minutes) from the WRON sessions that were unavailable to the commission. Obviously, someone removed them from the minutes, which is why the commission did not come across the original version of these decisions in any other place.

On 31 August, firearms were used by officials of at least three platoons from a (?ROMO) formation, in particular circumstances: It transpires, from the subsequent criminal proceedings, that witnesses—officials of the security services who were acting under cover within the crowd of demonstrators—admitted during the investigation that shots were fired straight ahead, that shots were fired at those who were backing off or running away, by those riding behind the civic militia motorized reserves or militia cars driving at crowds of demonstrators. They even fired shots at their own officials, working under cover in the crowd, who tried to save themselves by running away. Shots were also fired at individuals who were running away, at entrances to blocks of apartments, and at the windows of buildings. Shots were fired in situations in which there was absolutely no danger to the officials. What is more, the same staff that prepared and directed this action then ordered—as is shown from minutes of its sessions—that all traces of shots being fired straight at people should be eradicated, although they were, after all, duty-bound to preserve such traces for investigative purposes. In this case, nobody preserved the most important exhibits—the arms and the ammunition.

The circumstances of the Lubin pacification lead the commission to believe that there is the likelihood, the likelihood—I stress—that among the 30 towns in which instances of repression of street demonstrations took place that day, Lubin was chosen as the place in which a show of MSW force and ruthlessness was to take place. It is impossible otherwise to understand why, out of 135,000 people who were demonstrating that day all over Poland, four out of five—more than likely—victims that day found themselves in that town under the circumstances that I outlined earlier, circumstances that show unequivocally that actions were taken here with the intention of committing murder.

Both in the events of December 1981 and of August the following year, the commission considers it essential that the direct perpetrators of the murders be held criminally liable, as should those who were responsible for exercising leadership.

The commission's report quotes a legal definition of the idea. Therefore, those should answer who had—I quote the definition—a real role in shaping a course of unlawful action and in directing actions by people directly carrying out a forbidden deed. Persons who had such a role in those cases are listed in the report given to you, ladies and gentlemen, deputies.

The third kind of materials examined by the commission arose when investigating the preparations carried out in the MSW that ended with homicides in December 1981. That was the reason for examining the extensive documentation submitted to the commission. The commission found that the preparations were made as far back as 16 August 1980, when, by minister's instruction No. 31, a staff was appointed to supervise the Summer '80 operation. Subsequently, large scale actions were continued to prepare the introduction of martial law and to make possible the organized use of concentrated forces after 13 December 1981. We have established that preparations were completed on 4 February 1981, when the Ministry found itself in the state of so-called war readiness. On this day, final instructions were issued, detailed instructions, e.g., setting up teams for censorship of correspondence. Later, after 4 February 1981, only one qualitative change to the preparations took place: On 7 April 1981, the Armed Forces were included in the action. The commission feels that these preparations can be viewed as preparations for an action against interests protected by the Constitution and by international laws and agreements.

However, the investigated material was fragmented. Our analysis focused on activities that would have a direct impact on developments in the Upper Silesia situation, where cases of homicides were later reported. This is why the commission decided that there were not enough grounds to formulate a final answer to the question of whether and to what extent the discussed preparations could have been considered a crime—that is, as the punishable preparations for a coup against a law-governed state. We decided not to put forward a motion for instituting penal proceedings in this case. We feel that, with a view to both the legal and political importance of this question, a new, democratically elected Sejm should appoint a special commission, this time with the right to carry legal investigation and, especially, to gather evidence.

After examining all the material and hearing from people of the then state leadership, the commission would be able to answer the question. Neither the material gathered by us nor the House's commission allow us today to formulate a final conclusion.

Now, about the fourth category of the commission's material and conclusions: Our search included mysterious deaths of seven Roman Catholic priests. We knew that the Roman Catholic clergy was receiving particular treatment by the MSW. Joining the seminary was, in itself, enough for the MSW to begin operational activities, including telephone tapping, surveillance, actions by agents, and operational conversations. Therefore, we could assume that the MSW had powerful material on the priests who died mysteriously.

Unfortunately, as a result of illegal orders, this material was almost completely destroyed, which is why we asked the internal affairs minister to try to reconstruct, as much as possible, the criminal activity of the former MSW Fourth Department. The result was a report, received by the commission in February this year, which described the activities of D Section of the former Fourth Department.

The commission feels that both the establishment and the sufferance of such a section prove that the decisions of the Ministry leadership, at least in this particular case, were not concerned with legally protecting any group of citizens, nor the state as a whole. On the contrary, the fact that the accepted methods of this section were, according to the report—and I quote—beatings, damage to property, kidnappings, illegal threats, (?administering stupefying substances), attacking homes, and arson—end quote—as well as the fact that—and I quote once more—it cannot be ruled out that, during the course of special actions, instances of murder did take place—end quote—that fact is conclusive.

The aim of this state institution was to act outside the law, and often in a criminal way, against the Roman Catholic Church. This was continued for years, as much on Polish territory as outside its borders. The responsibility for tolerating this kind of structure as—and this is worthy of note—an organizational unit in the supreme body of state administration, without a doubt, lies with successive internal affairs ministers. The commission concludes that the activities of the D units should be assessed within the category of a union whose purpose was (?crime), irrespective of the evidence, in this case criminal misuse of the powers of a state body, and the responsibility of individual officials for crimes of robbery, illegally depriving people of freedom, and other crimes, committed under conditions of a continuity of crimes. [sentence as heard]

Ladies and Gentlemen, Deputies! Finally, I would like to submit to you conclusions that stem from the most extensive part of the material presented by the commission—that is, the examination of records and investigations carried out in 91 individual cases of mysterious deaths, in which the commission formulated various detailed conclusions. Most often and above all, it has resulted in a motion to continue the proceedings. You can find all the material in Part Six of our report. This vast empirical material allows us, for the first time, to draw documented conclusions on the function of the law enforcement apparatus and the administration of justice after 12 December 1981. Particular historical value lies in this. The commission says that, in existing above the Polish People's Republic's constitutional political system, the MSW had subordinated to it the local apparatus of special administration in the shape of the security service and the militia, which had a special status in the discussed period. The apparatus ruled over the whole course of penal proceedings and what followed, the state administration of justice. In cases where an MSW functionary was suspected of committing a crime—and our investigation dealt with the most serious crimes, mostly homicides—MSW bodies, prosecutor's offices, and courts, as well as bodies responsible for executing punishment, strove not to allow the functionaries to be brought to justice. In a few cases, it was impossible for functionaries to avoid responsibility, so this activity aimed to ease the distress arising from the penal consequences. In all examined penal proceedings where it was determined that an MSW functionary could be a perpetrator of an offense, various hypotheses were put forward to that end during the proceedings. In cases which gained public notoriety, operational cells of the MSW carried out extensive actions aimed, not at establishing a perpetrator of the crime, but rather, at establishing and limiting the influence of those people who could consolidate in public opinion the conviction that a crime was committed by a functionary.

Drastic examples of such large-scale operations are the activities undertaken after the deaths of Marcin Antonowicz and Zbigniew (?Szkarlat). Neither the prosecutors nor the civic militia officials who carried out the investigation asked to see the materials of the security services taken out during the earlier operational studies, and yet it would have been from this very material that they might have established links between officials of the security services and the victims of mysterious murders

and the surnames of officials who were carrying out operational studies on the victims—before their deaths. From the investigation's point of view, these were fundamental actions to take, especially when the victims were people connected to conspiratorial activities within Solidarity or to other underground organizations. For all those who were carrying out investigations, it was obvious and indubitable that, potentially, the most important evidence in these cases was unavailable during the proceedings. This was confirmed to me, quite openly and in person by, for example, officers who were carrying out an investigation in the case of the death of Zbigniew Szkarlat.

In the rare instances in which, despite everything, officials who had perpetrated crimes were held criminally liable, there was a universally applied practice of classifying legal acts—obviously false and benefitting the perpetrators. Particularly blameworthy was the practice of courts not characterizing as murder the numerous instances of beatings, kickings, and torture leading to the loss of consciousness and the subsequent death of people, who were, more often than not, detained in police stations or civic militia posts. A prime example in this case is the death of Marian Bednarek. Witnesses testified in this matter—and here I quote—I heard echoing thumps; the man was being beaten so hard that the batons never left his body, one after the other; they beat him like that for about 15 minutes; (?at first), there were just groans; then he fell silent; he didn't cry out, and the batons sounded as if they were pounding wood; a bucket was filled with water; then the cell was opened and the water was thrown inside; at about 2300, I heard Bednarek howl dreadfully; he howled in an inhuman way—the end of just one testimony that I have allowed myself to quote here.

May it please the House! This is not a rare occurrence; this is not some sort of extraordinary exception. Yet, none of the perpetrators of this or many similar acts have ever been accused of murder. One must stress that, throughout the whole of the period investigated by the commission, in no case on the commission's list has any official of the MSW been held criminally liable for committing a murder. There has been just one exception: the matter of the murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko, in which the fact that the perpetrators were indicted for murder was used to create a personnel crisis within the leading bodies of the Party, the state, and the MSW apparatus.

Even the team in charge of executing adjudged sentences remained at the MSW's command. Our elementary sense of justice is outraged by such cases as those of the deaths of Kazimierz Lazorawski or Grzegorz (?Lutek), the perpetrators of which—sentenced as mildly as possible by the court—did not serve a single day of their sentence, thanks to the organized joint action of the civic militia, the prosecutor's office, the courts of both, the chairman of the court, and finally the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

These are drastic examples of how far the whole apparatus of state jurisdiction could be engaged in a system that guaranteed immunity to MSW perpetrators. The mechanism that we have analyzed also led to the subordination of experts taking part in criminal proceedings; this applied as much to individuals—it was usual that chosen experts from the field of forensic medicine should be used in such cases—as to, in some situations, whole teams of experts. A shocking example in this case could be the report of the Institute of Legal Expertise in Krakow, made in the case of the death of Marcin Antonowicz. The prosecutor's office was, particularly, heavily subordinated to the MSW. The rule here is the interest of highly placed MSW representatives in proceedings where there exists even the slightest shadow of a hint of criminal activity by an MSW official. The case documents often contain handwritten notes by members of the MSW leadership, including the minister. MSW functionaries instructed prosecutors in situations where the latter were to give information to the public on investigations. That, for example, was the case in the death of Marcin Antonowicz. Investigative experiments were even, as it were, staged beforehand on MSW grounds, to stage their results in advance. The structure of internal subordination of the prosecutor's office enabled attempts to conduct the investigation in a neutral manner by individual prosecutors to be made effectively impossible. What occurred in such situations was the intervention of a superior, who presented a prepared text for signature to the prosecutor handling the case regarding the decision to discontinue the case. That, for example, was the case with the investigation into the death of (Bogdan Wloski).

May it please the House: The situation described—of the MSW's superiority over the whole system of justice—lay at the root of a model of lack of responsibility on the part of MSW functionaries for crimes committed. It ought to be stressed—and this is very important—that this model was not the result of some summary invention in defense of individual perpetrators or corruption or the special treatment of persons having personal links with high representatives of authoritity. No, this model had a systemic character; it had the status of an unwritten, generally adhered to systemic principle. A general ordering the shooting of workers could be as certain of impunity as a member of the rural volunteer reserve of the civic militia who killed his hated neighbor with a fence rail. The entire state aparatus could, on equal principles, be put at the disposal of the defense of both. Such a situation was in obvious collision with the rules of the Constitution then in force, particularly regarding those concerning the equal rights of citizens and legality. I believe this model ought to be described within the categories of a state that, by assumption, did not adhere to legality, or rather, could be described as the antilegality state system. One would like to formulate it, thus, that it ought to be examined in the catagories of organized crime.

It transpires from studies conducted by the commission that MSW functionaries knew that their actions would

go unpunished, regardless of the results, because there was no system of supervision within the MSW structures capable of enforcing the legality of the activities of functionaries. The materials gathered by the commission allowed us to propose the argument that superiors of functionaries carrying out illegal acts knew but did not take steps to change this state of affairs. What is more, the atmosphere dominating the ministry points to an acceptance of illegal activity because it was not unusual to discuss plans to falsify documents, organize political provocations, blackmail, and slander within the MSW's organizational structures. Plans for unlawful killings during discussions at conferences within the organizational structures of the MSW appear, in at least two accounts, by functionaries given to the commission. The peculiarities of the MSW's position within the system meant, therefore, that the behavior of MSW functionaries, prosecutors, judges, or expert witnesses, leading to the concealment of perpetrators and the elimination of persons who could make the achievement of this aim more difficult, as well as the discussion of plans for illegal activity conducted within MSW cells, became something normal, something understandable, resulting—let me stress—from the existing model of the state system.

Mr. Speaker, may it please the House: You already know, ladies and gentlemen, deputies, the final resolution that the commission is presenting to the House on the basis of the materials discussed here. It goes as follows: During the period studied by the commission, the MSW, as well as its subordinate central and regional organizational units, only indirectly fulfilled the constitutional role of the supreme body of state administration in the area of the security of the state and its citizens, because the primary aim of the MSW's activity was to ensure, for its own apparatus, power over citizens, including—and this, I stress, resulting directly from the commission's studies—over their life and health, uncontrolled by any other state structure. With this aim in mind, a mechanism was created that not only tolerated criminal institutions within the state administration, such as Department D, but served, as a whole, the instigation and protection of criminal activities by individual MSW bodies and functionaries, regardless of the intentions of people functioning within it. The presence of such a structure within the systemic reality of the state meant that this system, in the strictest sense, was based on the rule of lawlessness.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Deputies: In submitting, on behalf of the commission, a request for the Sejm to accept graciously, by way of a resolution, the points contained in the above report, I do this on behalf of all the members of the Extraordinary Commission, in the conviction that the duty of our House today is, above all, an act of moral redress. Justice within the law-abiding state ought to be measured by the independent administration of justice and only on the basis of laws. Our job is to ascertain lawlessness, to assess it, and to pay homage to those who were its victims. That is why I will ask the esteemed House to pay homage to the victims of that gloomy period, regardless of the political decisions that it will make on this matter. Thank you.

Chebeleu on Human Rights Meeting, NATO's Role

AU0910203991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1828 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/10/1991—Assessing the final document of the recently concluded human rights conference in Moscow as a step forward from the documents adopted by the previous two meetings, the Romanian Foreign Ministry Spokesman Ambassador Traian Chebeleu referred during his weekly news conference to the singular position of the Hungarian delegation on the minorities question. Hungary's position embodied in a statement of reservations was dismissed by the delegations of countries with a long democratic tradition among which U.S.A., France and Britain which called attention on the fact that an overstatement of the minorities problems could lead to instability and bring unpredictable effects and dangers. In that context, the Romanian diplomat said he was surprised by the "act of cowardice" of the Hungarian delegation which, after taking its turn and making its closing address, distributed its text which comprised a sentence with reference to Romania that had not been read out in the plenary meeting. "In that way the Romanian delegation was unable to react to that reference which is tendentious and groundless", the Romanian diplomat said. "I find it hard to define this gesture that I never came across before in the practice of multilateral diplomacy. Essentially, it was suggested that the CSCE should "make its way" into Romania and Yugoslavia where "human rights are in danger and influence prevails over dialogue" and where "the power of arms replaces the power of words".

The Foreign Affairs Spokesman Ambassador Traian Chebeleu told his weekly news conference held on October 9 the point of view of the Romanian Government on the prospects of Romania's relations with NATO. He stated that in the current period of often unforeseeable and almost always uncontrollable changes, Romania, like the other countries in the region, pinned many of its hopes as regards national security and stability in the area on that organization which, proving its capability to adapt itself to the new realities on the continent, plays an important part in today's and tomorrow's Europe.

"We want to participate in any formula of cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance, which will be open to the Central and East European countries, assuming appropriate pledges.

"We welcome the recent joint U.S.-German proposals concerning the organization of periodical meetings, at a ministerial level, between NATO member states and the East European countries and the Soviet Union within what might be a new "North Atlantic Cooperation Council", as well as the establishment of a new system of relations between NATO and the new democracies in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union these countries' periodical participation in the meetings of the NATO political and economic committees or any other suchlike measures.

"We are of the opinion that at present NATO is the only one apt to be a credible shield in ensuring the security of the young European democracies and stability in the region," the statement of the Foreign Ministry Spokesman specifies.

News Agencies Report Diplomat Abducted in India

AU0910121491 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] News agencies this morning reported that a Romanian diplomat has been abducted in New Delhi. A short time ago, we contacted the Romanian Embassy in India, where Mr. Valeriu (? Ruset), economic secretary, said the following: [telephone statement indistinct]

At the weekly meeting of the Foreign Ministry spokesman with press representatives, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu said that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not have the necessary information and elements to clarify the situation that has been created. The ministry is in constant touch with the Romanian Embassy in New Delhi to obtain details to clarify this case, and the moment it has the necessary details it will make its position known.

Party Leader Views on New Government Reported

AU1010103891 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] Last night, 9 October 1991, Romania's President Mr. Ion Iliescu, held a new round of talks at Cotroceni Palace with the leaders of parties represented in Romania's Parliament. The meeting was attended by the prime minister designate, Mr. Theodor Stolojan. Opening the meeting, which was called the meeting of the Consultative Council, the president noted that it was desirable that this body become a permanent feature in the political dialogue. In the same context, Mr. Ion Iliescu stressed the importance of continuity in the process of negotiations held in connection with the forming of the new cabinet. The president expressed the hope that the new cabinet could be formed in the first half of next week.

During the meeting, discussions were held on the previous consultations of the prime minister designate with the leaders of the major political groups on the government program.

Here are excerpts of the statements made by the participants in the meeting:

Mr. Theodor Stolojan noted that it was necessary to continue negotiations with the parties in order to reach a government formula. He also said that one should wait until next week and try to form a government of national unity.

The president of the National Liberal Party, Mr. Radu Campeanu, said that within the meeting a sort of plan for a future plan was presented, a plan that includes the claims of the National Salvation Front [FSN], claims

that he assesses as excessive. If they are not reduced, a government of national unity will not be possible, said Mr. Radu Campeanu.

In his turn, the president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, Mr. Corneliu Coposu, said that, during this meeting, no conclusion was reached. The FSN wants a political government by blocking seven ministries, something that nobody can accept. He also noted that those ministries are key departments, such as the Army, the Interior Ministry, and the Justice Ministry, which could ensure the honest nature of the election and which the FSN wants to control.

The president of the Romanian Social Democratic Party, Mr. Sergiu Cunescu, stressed the need to grant complete support to the prime minister designate, mentioning, however, that he should pay less attention to the majority party. He expressed his opinion that while a formula based on the wishes of the FSN could be reached, it could not have the same substance as a government supported by all parties.

The political vice president of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR], Mr. Geza Szocs, said that it transpired from the discussions that the possibility of the UDMR's participation in the government is minimal. He said, on behalf of his organization, that while the wish to participate in government had not been clearly expressed, neither the prime minister designate nor the other groups that want to be part of the government had expressed the idea of collaborating with the UDMR.

The leader of the Ecological Party, Mr. Otto Weber, said that the future government would not last long, because the FSN wants the key ministries. He expressed regret about the situation that has been created and said that this should have been the appropriate moment to do a serious job. He expressed his belief that the leader of the FSN is to be blamed for the situation that has been created because of his influence over the prime minister designate.

The leader of the Socialist Democratic Party, Mr. Cornel Nica, expressed his belief that, in the end, a formula will be found to please everybody, and soon a new cabinet can be elected.

For his part the leader of the Traditional Social Democratic Party, Mr. Lucian Cornescu, said that Romania will have a new government by the beginning of next week at the latest.

The president of the Party of National Unity of Romanians, Mr. Radu Ceontea, said that he had attended some preliminary talks and that his party was ready to offer support if the offers are put forward.

The FSN national leader, Mr. Petre Roman said that no matter what formula is used, the government will be formed; one cannot witness the eclipse and, even less, the elimination of the Front from the scene. His assessments were made after a question referring to the fact that, according to the opposition parties, the Front wants to keep seven key ministries.

PNT-cd Vice President Discusses Party Goals

AU0910210991 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5-6 Oct 1991

["ROMANIA LIBERA Exclusive Interview" with Cicerone Ionitoiu, vice president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, by Simion Buia Jr.; place and date not given: "Young People Are Joining the Peasant Party"]

[Text] The author of an important anticommunist work that was published in the West, and a pillar among the members of the emigre peasant movement in France, Mr. Cicerone Ionitoiu, who was recently elected to the office of vice president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd], states:

[Ionitoiu] A big gain of our congress was the fact that the leadership of the party was rejuvenated with young forces who are going to play the role of "understudy" to the older leaders. I believe that this new approach is very welcome. I believe that the PNT-cd organizations in Arad, Dolj, Vrancea, Vaslui, and Constanta are strong precisely because they have young leaders. We want to stimulate their development; therefore, we are even considering sending them to do specialized studies abroad. Because through them—and only through them—the future can belong to us. Iuliu Maniu's party cannot stay with the opposition for a long time. No matter how long the political turbulence lasts—up or down—one day, the time of the Peasant Party members will come. How quickly and how suddenly things can change is yet to be seen. However, in the case of our country, the incredible can suddenly become reality. Who would have believed in June last year that, in September 1991, Iliescu's miners would be Mr. Coposu's guests at the PNT-cd congress and that they would leave the Parliament they had attacked after listening to Mr. Ratiu? Otherwise, on the subject of the congress, I can only add that the exemplary democratic openness showed by its proceedings, and the absolute honesty in the way the election of the party's leading bodies was carried out, are really commendable.

[Buia] What are the most immediate objectives of the PNT-cd, in its struggle against neocommunist power?

[Ionitoiu] The first objectives are: to neutralize the Television, to neutralize the Ministry of the Interior, and to replace the communist prefects and mayors to ensure truly free elections. If these forums no longer obstruct us, I believe that we might win about 35 percent of the votes. I have traveled a lot throughout the country recently, and everywhere I see that PNT-cd prestige is increasing and the credibility of the ruling party is being scattered in the wind. People have realized that we are not lying. They have realized that it was not us who lied to them, but Roman and Iliescu.

[Buia] We know that there are more and more people who were your enemies yesterday and have become your sympathizers today. How many active members does the PNT-cd have?

[Ionitoiu] Taking into consideration the number of delegates who attended the congress, we have about 700,000 members. We have strong organizations in all the counties of the country, less in the counties of Covasna and Harghita.

[Buia] Do you believe that in these counties, which have a considerable Hungarian population, the positions of the PNT-cd among the local Romanians could be weakened, maybe even usurped by ultranationalistic and chauvinistic parties such as the "Romania Mare" party, the Party of the National Unity of Romanians [PUNR], and the Vatra Romaneasca?

[Ionitoiu] I believe that this political extremism is a passing phenomenon. The Romanians will realize that behind those degenerate people who belong to the "Romania Mare" are the former Ceausescu sympathizers and Securitate members, and mostly corrupt people, who cannot accept that they have lost their privileges obtained corruptly under the old regime.

People will realize that the Vatra Romaneasca and the PUNR are the tools of the most aggressive communists, the proof of it is their total adherence —even a totalitarian one—to the ruling party, and their very happy coexistence with the former Prime Minister Roman and with the (still) current President Iliescu. No, these extremists will not succeed because our people will wake up and will turn against them, as all anti-Communists, Romanians and Hungarians together have always done in our country. As a matter of fact, in the West, I had the opportunity to closely follow the activity of certain extremists such as Dragan, Ceausescu's good friend, who today finances certain shameful publications such as EUROPA or THE ROMANIAN, and I followed the activity of Traian Golea or Vasile Coman. They were receiving their orders from Moscow, via Bucharest Securitate, which was financing them and was sending them anti-Hungarian materials, because the communists were greatly interested in instigating chauvinistic hatred in order to maintain and consolidate their power. Precisely this is happening today. That is how the anti-Hungarian diversion—on the first day of the recent miners' arrival—can be explained. But times are changing and the ultranationalistic instigators within the "Romania Mare", but within other parties too, including the ruling party, will disappear the moment they are no longer financed by the Securitate and by the former (and current) nomenklatura members.

[Buia] I do not know if I should allow myself to share in your optimism. But let us change the subject and let me ask you the last question: In your capacity as a newly elected member of the PNT-cd leadership, what is your contribution to eliminating the communism that still continues to be "state policy" ?

[Ionitoiu] In a concrete way: I will continue writing a sequel to the "Golden Book of the Victims of Communism in Romania." I will publish 16,000 titles in an encyclopedic form, describing the sufferings and often the tragic end of all the anticommunist fighters who were thrown in the prisons of the former regime. It will be a great work of accusation and an important document in the trial of communism, a trial that one day is bound to begin, because there are too many Romanians who died for it. And there are many who are still dying....

Cornea Interviewed on Recent Miners' Actions

AU0910122891 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 4 Oct 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Doina Cornea, member of the Civic Alliance, by Claudiu Doltu; place and date not given—"I Am Not Worried About 'Their' Methods"]

[Text] [Doltu] What made you address the public on television at the end of the last week?

[Cornea] During these past days, I saw the Bucharest residents who were staying out in the street through the night. People knew that the shield carriers would come, but they continued to stay there. Each person was risking his life. It was a great risk because there was shooting. It was said that dozens of dead could be counted. I do not have the courage to stay out in the street, and what I cannot do, I cannot ask others to do either. That is why I told people not to stay out in the street, and I called for a general strike. I believe that only in this way can we finish this leadership off once and for all. If not, the country will become increasingly poor, and the social, economic, and political chaos will increase.

[Doltu] Do you believe that the coming of the miners happened according to a new scenario?

[Cornea] I do not have any proof, so I cannot make any assessments in this respect. Who would have benefited from such a manipulation? It can be seen who has benefited from it. That was a silent war between Petre Roman—whom I cannot forgive for not governing the way he should have done—and between the older team with conservative concepts. How did the resignation of the government coincide with the miners' arrival and the congress of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party? I know only one thing for sure. Even if these simple people were pushed, in a way, without being aware of the fact that they were being manipulated, then something extraordinary happened here because they turned against the one who tried to profit from their coming against the president of the country. They returned convinced that the president should be replaced, and they were disappointed with all this Iliescu- Roman policy. They were rising against the Army, the Securitate (so to say), who were firing at them, and against the Defense Council, because that is from where the orders came. The president of the Defense Council is Mr. Ion Iliescu.

I am not making assessments, and I am not condemning the simple soldier who was carrying out orders. I am sorry that there are young victims in the Army. Soldiers are only instruments, in the same way as miners were only instruments in June 1990. One should condemn those members of the leadership who provoke such incidents during which a man is incited against his brother.

[Doltu] How do you view the departure of the miners?

[Cornea] They left because they could not resist any longer. They wanted to bring about other changes as well. They went to Cotroceni Palace to try to overthrow Iliescu. They sided with the opposition. They even told me: Last year, we cursed you, but this year we beg you to forgive us; we love you now. That is what they told me, and they were very, very friendly.

[Doltu] Is it true that you encountered problems after your television address?

[Cornea] Yes, people rushed upon us. They did not manhandle us, but they came in an aggressive way. They were soldiers. I do not recognize ranks. They insulted us. Even the television personnel insulted me, calling me a worn out scorpion and other such names. All kind of "adjectives" were used. We started talking with simple soldiers and telling them that it was not their fault, and it was not the miners' fault either; it was the fault of those who had placed them in such a situation. Those are the ones who must be demoted. They were just standing and looking, and I could sense their smile. When they saw that we were not frightened, they decided to let us go. Maybe they just wanted to frighten us. But for one year and 6 months, I had (militia, Securitate) guards who did not let me breathe. When I went out in the street, they followed me every step that I took. That is why I was not worried about being detained. I told them: You should know that I am not frightened at all by the fact that you are keeping us here, and by the fact that you are using bad language. I am used to that.

[Doltu] How long did they keep you ?

[Cornea] For about half an hour.

[Doltu] Did you meet Miron Cosma in those days?

[Cornea] I talked only to the miners who were out in the street, in front of the National Theater, and in the University Square where I was on Saturday night at around 1 o'clock.

[Doltu] Thank you.

Jilava Organization Issues Communique

AU0910151891 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 2 Oct 91 p 4

["Communique" of the Jilava 21-22 December 1989 Organization, signed by the organization's president, Gheorghe Zainea, and its vice president Dorin Eugen Tuca]

[Text] The Jilava 21-22 December 1989 Organization, which includes participants in the anticommunist demonstrations of 21-22 December 1989, that is prior to Ceausescu's fall, and who, as a result of their actions, were arrested, manhandled, tortured, and detained in the Jilava Prison, in this way reiterate again their position of public protest against the perpetuation of communist structures, mentalities, and ways of action, of which they mention the following:

1. The use of VIOLENCE against some demonstrators who express their claims through public demonstrations.

2. The act of diverting the public's attention from real national problems by inaccurately referring to antinational intentions of certain minorities.

3. The use by television of intimidation and censorship methods and of distorting meanings and misinterpreting the words of interviewed people (in this respect, we especially ask for [Romanian television director-general] Mr. Emanoil Valeriu to be demoted).

4. The act of impoverishing the population through the disastrous degradation of the price-wages relationship, parallel with the appearance of an elite with privileges that they do not deserve.

5. Reprisals against the fighters for democracy.

6. The continuous compensation through large pensions and other advantages granted to the communists retaliators who were active before December 1989.

7. The act of maintaining, in greatly responsible social, economic, and political positions, the criminal representatives of the communist regime.

8. The act of taking measures, generally hasty ones—some of which are antidemocratic measures—against EFFECTS, instead of approaching in a responsible way the CAUSES that generate social problems.

9. The manipulation of certain social categories, with a view to obtaining political advantages for a certain group.

10. The habit of calling for dialogue, while refusing to actually organize a dialogue, and, after successive delays, as a result of the presumed dialogue, legalizing an act that had initially produced dissatisfaction.

Further we ask for the following:

a. The ban of communist parties.

b. The Interior Ministry and the Ministry of National Defense bodies should not make use of the arms available to them against unarmed demonstrators.

c. Turning all those who are guilty of the June 1990 and SEPTEMBER 1991 atrocities to the legal authorities.

d. The investigation and detention of whose who are guilty of destroying the Romanian economy before and after December 1989.
e. A public investigation of the way in which the funds and the heritage of the Romanian Communist Party and of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions, party administrations, and the Libertatea fund have been and continue to be used and the way in which the private investors have obtained their money and their concessions after December 1989.
of 1989 December, as an essential step in ensuring and maintaining the healthy moral state of democracy.

Gheorghe Zainea, president

Dorin Eugen Tuca, vice president

Brucan: Opposition Should Share Responsibility

AU0910150191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1252 GMT 9 Oct 91

["Political Life: Only a National Union Government Can Save Romania"]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/10/1991—This is the opinion of Silviu Brucan, expressed in a telecast interview Tuesday evening, 8 October.

Mr. Brucan, political scientist, prominent figure among pre-revolution dissenters, propelled by the Romanian revolution to the limelight of the political life, whose scene he left after the first free elections, considers the settlement of political differences by force "a symptom of the frailty of Romanian democracy."

Mr. Brucan thinks the time has come for the opposition parties, primarily the historical ones, to make up their minds between the strategy of street movements and the democratic game. Mr. Brucan sees as a paradox of the Romanian political life the very gap between the claim that the power should behave democratically and the manipulation, at the same time, of the civil society towards anarchical movements by political forces that "indiscriminately cheer any strike, justify the attack by force against public institutions and applaud the miners' descent inviting them to their congresses (allusion to the participation of a miners' delegation in the Congress of the National Peasant Party in the days of the fourth miners' expedition to Bucharest). [no end quotes as received]

Mr. Brucan is of the opinion that the opposition parties' refusal to share in the government and, therefore, their evasion from political responsibility will discredit them before the electorate in the polls to come. He labels the urge by certain political leaders that the president of the country should be overthrown, voiced during the 25-29 September incidents as "totally irresponsible," while the president was, in those days, the "last pillar of the state."

As for the government to result from the next election, Mr. Brucan is positive the next cabinet will not be a one-party team, because the shock therapy has eroded the [National Salvation] Front's popularity. The electorate is likely to turn mainly to the centre parties ("the bulk will be in the middle"), because the market economy, be it incipient, has already generated an embryo of middle class that does not favour the extremes.

Federal

Assembly Chamber Going Through 'Difficult Times'

AU1010101891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] The session of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber has still not begun. Difficult times have begun for the Federal Parliament after Slovene and Croatian delegates were withdrawn and as delegates from other republics are more and more frequently absent from the Assembly sessions. Macedonian delegates are definitely not going to attend the Federal Chamber session, and delegates from Bosnia-Hercegovina demand that no decisions should be adopted today. As we have learned, they would rather agree to hold a comradely exchange of views on agenda items. If this is not the case, they say they will walk out of the session.

The Assembly has found itself in a dilemma between very difficult work and the possibility of working under the conditions of the direct war danger.

The leadership of the chamber is currently meeting behind closed doors trying to find a solution to hold the session nevertheless.

Adopts Multiparty Law

LD0910203191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1802 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav parliament today adopted an election law which opens the doors of the Federal Chamber (one of the chambers of the bicameral Assembly) to multi-partism.

Elections for this chamber will be called when conditions are met, Yugoslav parliament President Slobodan Gligorijevic said. He recalled that the legitimacy of the Yugoslav Assembly was being questioned because it was not established on a multi-party basis and because of unlimited extensions of the mandate to the current deputies.

Amendments to the law on multi-party elections for the Federal Chamber of Yugoslav parliament were adopted today by the Committee for Social and Political Relations, guaranteeing citizens the right to choose deputies among candidates of all legal parties in Yugoslavia at general and direct elections.

The Chamber of Republics and Provinces is a multi-party chamber. Different parties, of national orientation, are in power in the Yugoslav republics and provinces which delegate their representatives to this chamber of the Federal parliament.

Assembly Urges EC Model for Economic Policy

LD0910165791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1520 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 9 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav parliament's Committee for Socio-Economic Relations said today that the economic relations in the future Yugoslav community should be based on the European Community model.

There was general support in the committee for this key feature contained in the theses on common economic relations in the Yugoslav community prepared by the parliament's Constitutional Commission which will tomorrow go before the Federal Chamber of Yugoslavia's bicameral assembly.

It was proposed at today's session that the Federal Chamber after the debate forward the theses to the working bodies of the Conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague as groundwork materials for the organizations of economic relations in the future Yugoslav community.

The committee expressed the view that the Yugoslav Assembly should define three other features of the relations in the future Yugoslav community—human rights, international relations and joint institutions.

The meeting of the committee was not attended by deputies from Slovenia and Croatia.

Markovic Misses FEC Session; 'Traffic' Blamed

LD0910204791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2018 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—A Federal Executive Council [FEC] session was held this evening in Belgrade. The FEC vice president chaired the session, as previously agreed by FEC President Ante Markovic and FEC Vice President Aleksandar Mitrovic. Ante Markovic left Zagreb for Belgrade this afternoon in order to attend the FEC session. He failed to arrive on time, however, due to traffic problems. In a phone conversation, Markovic informed Vice President Mitrovic that he will arrive in Belgrade at noon tomorrow and that he agrees that the FEC session should be held without him, the FEC Information Secretariat revealed.

Constitutional Court Rejects Slovene Sovereignty

LD0910205591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1749 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's constitutional court annuled today the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia's declaration on independence, assessing the document as unconstitutional in its entirety.

The court said that the declaration violated the Yugoslav Constitution because it suspended its validity in one part of the Yugoslav territory. Also unconstitutional is the

total withdrawal of the Slovenian deputies from the Yugoslav Assembly, the court said.

The court also assessed as unconstitutional and contravening the laws on conscription and service in the Armed Forces the decision by the Yugoslav Presidency to move YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] units from Slovenia to other parts of the country.

In a letter to the Yugoslav Assembly the constitutional court informed the parliament in detail about its findings, stressing that they YPA's units were being withdrawn from the borders of Yugoslavia they had a duty to protect, and that members of the Slovene nation were being freed of military service, in contravention of the Constitution.

The court also said the Yugoslav Presidency's decision on the redeployment of YPA units from Slovenia had not been duly published in the official gazette of Yugoslavia, and that because of this the court could not assess its constitutionality. The court also said that this decision was being implemented, despite that fact that it had not been published in the gazette and was thus not part of the country's legal system.

The constitutional court said it hoped the parliament would inform the Presidency about its judgment because the Presidency was in duty bound to realize its rights and disharge its responsibilities fully in keeping with the Yugoslav Constitution.

Suster Says Politicians 'Insensitive to Economy'

LD0910205191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1731 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 9 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy Dagmar Suster resigned today, saying he still believes in the possibility of inter-republican economic ties in Yugoslavia, provided the politicians now in power resign.

Suster's resignation follows on yesterday's decision of the Slovenian parliament to recall all Slovenian officials from the federal institutions. Slovenia proclaimed its independence on June 25, but the implementation of this decision was deferred by a three-month moratorium which expired on October 7.

In his "farewell speech," Suster told a press conference in Belgrade that "in these hard times, we did not have politicians who could find the right solutions for overcoming the crisis." He said that everywhere in the country, the economy "is a victim of politics" and politicians insensitive to the economy in new market conditions and relations.

Slovene Tolar 'Inflationary Blow' to Money System

AU0910222091 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Milorad Petrovic commentary]

[Text] There is a limit to how many dinars can be exchanged for tolars. The citizens of Slovenia can only exchange a specified amount of dinars. For the rest of their money, instead of being given tolars, they are given various securities. Just because chaos reigned among the savers in Slovenia, the German mark was today being exchanged for 40 dinars on the black markets in Belgrade, Sarajevo, and other centers. The essence of this is that by running away from bonds or the very uncertain tolar, the Slovenes are exerting pressure on the foreign currency market in the country and are paying anything for foreign currency just to get hold of it.

Slovenia's decision to issue its own money is essentially a political act. From the economic point of view, however, Slovenia has made a move which will force the National Bank of Yugoslavia to immediately make a decision on converting all dinar deposits, both cash and saving accounts deposits, into Slovenia's debt to the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

Slovenia issued 2.2 billion dinars in bills, which the National Bank of Yugoslavia has withdrawn from circulation. We are therefore talking about irregular money. If one adds to this the money in regular bills that are held by the citizens and are in the payments system, and the 300 million dinars in the deposits with the National Bank of Slovenia, as well as other non-cash money, the estimate is then that in this republic there are between 15 and 18 billion dinars.

Issuing money, one's own money, the tolar, in a situation when the existing dinars are in circulation and when there are no restrictions whatsoever regarding payments to other republics in fact means an increase in the stock of money in Yugoslavia. In other words, it means an additional issue of money without the permission of the Central Bank and at the expense of the entire country. We are therefore talking about Slovenia dealing an inflationary blow to Yugoslavia while at the same time protecting its own economic interests with the introduction of its own currency.

The announcement in Slovenia that the parity of the tolar will be 1:1 in relation to the dinar is a kind of economic conceit, because it is absolutely certain that the tolar does not have the backing of economic power, nor gold, nor gold reserves that would justify this parity.

Any further acceptance of the existence of two currencies would mean transferring an enormous part of the burden of the future economic consolidation to the rest of Yugoslavia. Besides, if printing one's own money is such an easy and painless process, it is certain that official Slovenia would rather peg the tolar to the German mark or the Austrian schilling. And one more thing, attempts have been made in the last few months to bring dinars worth $30 million into Yugoslavia via a Swiss channel. We are talking about money of suspect origin, money that is not the result of regular economic transactions. We should not have any illusions

that the status of Slovenia as a free shooter in the economy of the present Yugoslavia should not serve as a way of laundering this money.

International

Documents Show Chemical Weapons Sent to Iraq

AU0910192291 Paris AFP in English 1830 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Paris, Oct 9 (AFP)—Yugoslavia provided chemical warfare factories and weapons to Iraq, and some of its Army units in Serbia are also due to receive "chemically-tipped" rockets by the end of November, the MIDDLE EAST DEFENSE NEWS publication reported here.

The twice-monthly newsletter quoted extensively from what it said were documents made available by the Office of the Federal President of Yugoslavia, noting that the Federal Army had begun to equip combat forces in Serbia with the rocket launching system in June.

Giving details of the documents, the newsletter quoted sources at the office of the president as saying: "Yugoslavia is responsible for supplying Iraq with the technology to produce Sarin chemical weapons in 1986 and was instrumental in the construction of a chemical factory for the same weapon between the years 1983 and 1985."

The Unis Associated Metal Industry of Sarajevo received an order in December 1987 from the al-Qaqaa [spelling as received] State Establishment for propellant powder to be used in the manufacture of 130 mm artillery charges, and another order dated June 13 1988. Some of the documents referred to the plant as being at al-Iskandariyah.

The publication said that the Sarin plant was probably the al-Muthena [spelling as received] State Establishment south west of Samarra.

Yugoslavia also provided the design for manufacture in Iraq of a rocket launcher system designated in Yugoslav inventories as the M87. "Each launch vehicle can ripple fire 12 262 mm rockets, which were designed from the start to carry chemical warfare agents," MEDNEWS said. The first two unassembled launchers were shipped to Iraq in 1988, it said.

The report went on to say that "the Yugoslav firms Bratstvo and Zrak also built a 122 mm Howitzer factory near al-Fallujah, code-named KOL7-Sa'd 5. The Iraqis refer to this plant as the Saddam State Establishment."

Yugoslav factories continue to manufacture the M87 rocket launchers, it said, with the Yugoslav Federal Army in June this year installing one M87 battery it had initially purchased for training at the Zadar military academy "in combat positions near Cuprija in central Siberia". [sentence as received] The purchase order was doubled to eight launchers and two control units, and delivery was scheduled to take place on September 25 1991, the report said.

"In addition," the Mednews report concluded, "Yugoslav units located near Kragujevac in central Serbia are slated to receive more than 2,000 chemically-tipped rockets for the M87 by the end of November."

Diplomatic Relations With Israel Reestablished

LD0910143591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1312 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—The Israeli Foreign Ministry has sent a note to the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs [SSIP] informing it that the Israeli Government has welcomed the Yugoslav note on the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the SFRY and Israel and has agreed that this official reply by the Israeli side should be considered the date of reestablishment of diplomatic relations.

It follows that diplomatic relations between the two countries were reestablished on 8 October 1991, says the SSIP statement issued today and passed on to TANJUG.

PRC Envoy Opposes Sending International Force

LD0910210791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1804 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Skopje, Oct 9 (TANJUG)—Chinese Ambassador to Yugoslavia Zhang Dake says that China is against sending an international force to Yugoslavia.

In a talk with President of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov and other Macedonian officials, the Chinese ambassador said that China maintained that the Yugoslav nations should deal with their problems through mutual peaceful talks.

Mesic Warns European Parliament of Spread of War

LD0910164591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Strasbourg, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—"Serbia broke up the federation," SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic told a plenary session of the European Parliament in Strasbourg today, adding that "his children have a right to live in peace, because the European children will not live in peace either if the armed conflict in Yugoslavia does not stop."

Mesic told the European legislators "that he did not come to beg for mercy" but to tell them that it was Serbia

that broke the Yugoslav Federation and that Slobodan Milosevic's regime is waging a war for extending its territory. "Aggression must not be awarded," he noted, saying that "the Yugoslav People's Army is bolshevik" and that it had turned into "Serbia's unruly force." He called for "the maximum internationalization of the present conflict in Yugoslavia," criticizing the United States and Europe "for they are still looking at Serbia through a state-building prism, also because they believe that it is against the disintegration of the federation."

Stipe Mesic warned the European Parliament today that "Yugoslavia was the idea born in Croatia," but he asked which European country would "accept to remain in the EC if another country kept seizing its territory." "Non-Serbian countries are requested to remain within a community which is exploiting them," Mesic added in his explanation of Croatian reasons for the dissociation from Yugoslavia.

"It is necessary to distinguish between victims and aggressors," Stipe Mesic said in Strasbourg today and proposed how to end the "brutal and dirty war without precedent in Europe": "Either help the victim or stop the aggressor," he appealed to the European legislators, who replied with applause. Failing this, Mesic warned, "our war can easily spread to Europe."

Bulgarian Cargo Ship Attacked by Croatian Forces

LD0910171291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Vajska, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—The Bulgarian general cargo ship Ivan Vazov was hit on the Danube near Vukovar yesterday around 1700 [1600 GMT]. This was revealed to TANJUG by representatives of the official investigative team, following an investigation on a dock near Vajska.

Pilot Plamen Dragiev was injured in the attack. He was transferred to the surgical department of the Novi Sad medical facility.

According to a report based on a statement by the ship captain, three members of the Croatian Armed Forces attacked the Bulgarian ship and Yugoslav ships Korab and Kosmaj, which were near the Bulgarian ship, with mortars and sniper rifles. The captain's cabin and a side of the Bulgarian ship were hit by bullets and rubber bullets. Light damages were inflicted on our ships, and no one was hurt on them.

Bulgaria's 'Double Standards' on Crisis Viewed

LD1010111191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0907 GMT 10 Oct 91

[By Pero Rakocevic]

[Text] Sofia, October 10 (TANJUG)—The basis of Bulgaria's official policy on the Yugoslav crisis is its stand on 'non-interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia' and 'restraint from benefiting' from the Yugoslav tragedy as it was set out in a Bulgarian Government statement recently.

This proclaimed neutrality is, however, far from some moves Sofia has been making. Besides being among the leading centers of a propaganda war against everything that has a Yugoslav character, Sofia's activities are aimed at the dying out of Yugoslavia and the affirmation of the republics' independence.

Bulgaria's stand on Yugoslavia has undergone many changes over the past few months. This was not only [word indistinct] by changed circumstances or new facts, but mainly by the changes in the stands of European countries and the United States, towards which Bulgaria's new foreign policy has completely turned.

Observers here note that Bulgaria was relieved when Europe and the United States abandoned the idea of a single Yugoslavia ecause the next day, Bulgaria's stand on the Yugoslav crisis 'evolved', expressing the 'right of Yugoslav peoples to self-determination.'

In keeping with its publicly proclaimed wish to play a leading role in the Balkans, Bulgaria would rather see several small states than a strong Yugoslavia on its western borders.

At a recent news conference held by the Greek and Bulgarian prime ministers, Konstandinos Mitsotakis and Dimitur Popov, on the signing of an agreement on friendship and cooperation, journalists noted that Popov was uneasy about Mitsotakis's statement that both countries were for the preservation of a single Yugoslavia, even as a loose alliance.

Popov passed over in silence a repeated question about how this fits into Bulgaria's stand on the 'self-determination of Yugoslav peoples' and the recognition of Macedonia's independence.

Standing behind the euphoric support to Macedonia's independence and the conscious suppression of the problem of not recognizing the Macedonian nation is Bulgaria's strategic interest and historic aspiration to place Macedonia under its national and state umbrella. This perhaps is also one of the causes of the growing anti-Serban feeling in Bulgaria.

The one-sided, unobjective and biased presentation of the Yugoslav crisis, not only in the Bulgarian press but also in statements by officials, has been planned and present for a long time with direct support of secessionist aspirations and is thus opposite to the latest government statement the the 'Bulgarian people truly want friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation with all Yugoslav peoples on the bases of mutual respect, goodwill and trust.'

Slovenia

Kucan Hopes For EC Recognition of Sovereignty

LD0910200991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1821 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Oct 9 (TANJUG)—President of the Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Milan Kucan said today he hoped that the European Community (E.C.) countries would be the first significant group of states to recognize Slovenia.

Slovenia regards itself as an independent state as of Tuesday, October 8, after the expiry of a three-month moratorium on the implementation of its independence decision which the republic signed during an E.C. mediation drive. Slovenia does not make its recognition conditional on that of Croatia, although it favours a simultaneous recognition of both states, Kucan said at a news conference in Ljubljana. In case only Slovenia is recognized, it would not withdraw from the peace efforts, and would continue to provide concrete assistance to Croatia in diverse forms, including weapons, as long as it is possible, the Slovenian president said.

Kucan, who returned last night from Bonn, where he met with Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, said had been told during the visit that the formal recognition of Slovenia and Croatia was only a matter of time.

Spokesman Assesses Kucan's Visit to Germany

AU0910184491 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Excerpts] Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency, and Slovene Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel paid an extremely important visit to Germany yesterday. Chancellor Helmut Kohl assured them that Germany will assist in the Slovene process of gaining independence in all spheres. Let us listen to Ivo Vajgl, press spokesman of the republican Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

[Begin Vajgl recording] The Federal Republic of Germany is willing to offer immediate economic and political assistance in the implementation of Slovene independence. Recognition of Slovenia is not problematic for Bonn officials, but is only a matter of choosing the right moment and the right circumstances. These were the first-hand assurances that Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl gave in the talks with Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency. The German and Slovene foreign ministers, Genscher and Dr. Rupel, also took part in the talks. The talks were open, more direct than is usual for diplomatic talks, and, I would say, timely.

Because of the Yugoslav crisis, which was the topic of special sessions of the coalition parties in Bonn today, Genscher changed his plans and did not travel to Prague. It is evident that Bonn wants to play an active role in the pressures to resolve the current Yugoslav crisis. Both German statesmen stressed that among the EC chiefs of state there is hardly one who would question the recognition of Slovenia. Germany cannot be the only one or the first one to recognize Slovenia, but it is actively trying to convince as many countries as possible, hopefully all 12 EC members, to favor Slovenia's recognition.

Helmut Kohl has given assurances of German assistance to numerous Slovene economic projects and problems mentioned by President Kucan. Just like Austria and Italy, Germany will recognize the validity of the new Slovene passport as an identity document. It will do all this, of course, until the full implementation of Slovenia's independence and its international recognition. [passage omitted]

President Kucan concluded his visit to Germany tonight by talking to Hans-Jochen Vogel, president of the parliamentary faction of the Social Democratic Party, and Count Otto Lamsdorff, president of the Liberal Party. His news conference was well attended. [end recording]

Reportage on Kucan's Visit to Germany

WA0910172491

For reportage on the visit by Milan Kucan, president of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, to Germany, including reports on his talks with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, please see the Germany section of the 9 October West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Kucan, Jansa Address Media on Independence Tasks

AU0910202891 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] What has been uncertain before today, will be more certain beginning today. Germany will probably recognize Slovenia soon, Slovene President Milan Kucan stated at a news conference today. The day was characterized by monetary chaos because of the new Slovene currency and by a protest by the Italian minority and citizens from other republics who have stayed in Slovenia. Sabahudin Vukdelic reports:

[Vukdelic] Germany has accepted our independence with sympathy. Chancellor Kohl gave us firm guarantees that he will help us politically and economically. We can use our passports to travel to this country as tourists for the time being. These words uttered by Slovene President Kucan at today's news conference were received by the Slovene public as balm on a wound, because they understand very well what the support of such a power means. Even though it has problems of its own, Germany will lend a hand to the newly born state.

Kucan stressed that his visit to Bonn last night is only the confirmation of good relations between the two countries, saying that Slovenia will continue to participate in The Hague conference, but as an independent state that wants to help in finding a solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

Our recognition is not as far away as it seems, the Slovene president said in evidently a good mood.

In Cankar Hall, before Kucan, journalists were addressed by Defense Minister Janez Jansa. He repeated the already known conclusions. The rest of the Yugoslav People's Army must leave Slovenia by 18 October. How? We will find a way. The 2,400 soldiers do not pose a danger to us.

In the Slovene Assembly, the Sociopolitical Chamber and the Associated Labor Chamber did not accept the government's proposal on the law on ownership of enterprises. Those who, as stated, think about themselves, were sharply criticized. The government wants to cheat, and, we would like to add, it is not the only one.

Last night there was some shooting in (?Lov) near Vrhnika. The initial report that this was done by the Yugoslav People's Army turned out to be incorrect. Two members of the Guard from Osijek, with a car full of arms, wanted to let off steam. It was not said how they crossed the new border between Croatia and Slovenia. Tito's Street is getting competition. There are now Vienna and Steirmark Streets.

Up to now we had the problem of the Italian minority in Slovenia. Beginning today we have the problem of the so-called southerners, people from other republics. They are embittered with the SFRY Presidency, which, to tell the truth, no longer exists, as well as with the General Staff, and the governments of other republics. These people have been abandoned as though they did not exist. Therefore they are taking Slovene citizenship. Their message from today's meeting, which was a small affair, was: Thanks to Yugoslavia for abandoning us in this way, leaving us to the mercy of others. If we do not have anywhere to return to we have somewhere to stay, even if it is against our will.

Finally, Trieste and (?Klagenfurt) will accept Slovene tolars as of today. Economic interests have obviously taken precedence over political interests.

Jansa Reiterates Position on Army Withdrawal

AU0910162991 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 9 Oct 91

[By Robert Skerjanc]

[Excerpt] According to Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa there are approximately 2,400 members of the Yugoslav Army in Slovenia at the moment. However, these are not the members of the combat formations, but the soldiers and officers whose duty it is to protect installations that the Army has not handed over yet, and to transport the Army's materiel. There are over 1,000 carriages loaded with the Army's equipment at Slovene railway stations, but this is noncombat materiel that is waiting to be transported. More than 100 tanks and armored vehicles and some 1,000 tonnes of explosives represent the main problem in the transport that the Army is trying to carry out through Hungary now that transportation via Trieste has been laid out. On the transport of arms Minister Jansa also said:

[Begins Jansa recording] All three (?organs) in Slovenia insist that the Army completes the withdrawal of its personnel from Slovenia by the mutually agreed deadline, that is to say, by 18 October this year. The organs of the Republic of Slovenia are willing to secure a safe evacuation of the remaining units of the Yugoslav Army from Slovenia by the way that proves to be the safest. However, before this takes place, the remainder of the Yugoslav Army in Slovenia must pay the Slovene suppliers for the costs incurred during the last three months, and it must also return all equipment and arms that it seized from the Territorial Defense last May, which is, at the moment, mostly still in the Army's warehouses.

In order not to contribute to the escalation of the war in Croatia by our behavior, that is to say, in order to avoid directly helping the side that is carrying out aggression, the Slovene Presidency and the Slovene Government have decided to freeze the status of the armored and other combat material currently present in Slovenia until the aggression on Croatia ends, or until the final separation accounts are drawn [delitvena bilanca], if this takes place first. [end recording]

Because Slovenia has assumed effective power over its territory, the Army must in the future obtain consent from the authorized organs for each of its moves. At the moment, Slovenia is carrying out this measure unilaterally. However, a meeting at which they will precisely regulate these questions with the Army representatives is expected on Friday.

Because Slovenia insists on the 18 October deadline, all members of the Yugoslav Army will be treated as members of a foreign armed force after this deadline and all supplies will be cut to the barracks as they will represent foreign installations. [passage omitted]

Pucnik: Federal Army's Weapons To Be Seized

AU1010091091 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 0600 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Interview with Joze Pucnik, president of the Slovene democratic opposition, Demos, by Josef Doldinger; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Pucnik] We are greatly moved by the war in Croatia, from a human and political point of view, but also because we still feel that there continues to be a certain indirect danger for us. There is so much misery there, with people killed and wounded and many houses and monuments destroyed. The refugees coming to Slovenia describe it all very vividly.

As far as the political aspect is concerned, one must know that we are allies. We had the same objectives, we cooperate, and we feel we must share responsibility for

what is going on in Croatia. After all, the Croats are also partly responsible for and must join our struggle for Slovene independence.

[Doldinger] What are the next concrete steps of independent Slovenia? I presume it is the withdrawal of what remains of the Federal Army from Slovenia.

[Pucnik] Yes, they must pull out by 18 October. That agreement was reached at a time when the State Presidency still existed. Because of the war in Croatia, however, we will not permit them to take their heavy arms with them; we will keep these arms and immobilize them, so to speak. What is important to us is that these heavy arms should not be used against the Croats. We do not want to confiscate them or anything like that, but we will block them so that they cannot be used against our friends in Croatia, in particular, nor against the civilian population.

[Doldinger] The EC is considering sending peace-keeping forces to the Balkans. Is the use of peace-keeping forces useful? Will it yield the expected results?

[Pucnik] I think that one ought to try immediately to use all diplomatic means that still exist; for example, one should try to freeze the status of the Yugoslav Federation under international law, a federation that in reality, no longer works. In this way, one could force Serbia to seek a status of its own under international law.

We must not forget that within the Army the hierarchy is crumbling. It is no longer very clear what people, which generals actually control the Army. That means that the situation has become somewhat chaotic, which also constitutes a real danger for Slovenia.

[Doldinger] Now that the moratorium has expired, what do you think about the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia under international law?

[Pucnik] For us it is of essential importance. We are very anxious to get recognition for Slovenia, as well as for Croatia; in other words, we are greatly dependent on the recognition of Slovenia under international law.

On the other hand, we fully understand the problems of the Austrian Government. We know that the EC has exerted certain pressures on Austria. Nevertheless, one now gets the impression that Austria does not have any reservations against recognizing Slovenia and Croatia, but that the government wants to wait for the right moment or a joint European recognition of these two states. We hope that it will happen soon.

Defense Ministry Warns of Falsified Banknotes

AU0910141691 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1200 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] The Slovene Ministry of Defense, in a statement to the public, warns all physical and legal entities to refrain from buying military and other equipment from units and members of the Yugoslav Army, regardless of the fact that prices of some of the objects are merely symbolic.

Based on the conclusions by the Executive Council, the status of this equipment has been frozen and its retail sale made illegal. The Ministry also warns the public that members of the Yugoslav Army in Slovenia possess large amounts of the freshly printed dinar banknotes that they are trying to exchange at any cost for foreign currency or bonds. The Ministry of Defense stresses there is a well-founded suspicion that a part of these banknotes have been falsified.

Rules for Exchange of Dinars Into Slovene Tolars

AU0910170891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] This morning all commercial banks in Slovenia started to exchange dinar cash for the new Slovene monetary unit, the tolar. Today, tomorrow, and on Friday, the banks will stay open from 0700-2000 GMT. Upon producing their identity cards, residents can exchange cash up to 20,000 dinars without problems. Cash exceeding 20,000 dinars but which does not exceed 50,000 dinars will be exchanged by crediting its value in tolars to savers' current accounts or savings accounts. Persons possessing over 50,000 dinars in cash will have to prove the origin of the cash.

The exchange rate between the dinar and the tolar will be 1 to 1 until Friday at 2000 GMT. During these three days, the Yugoslav dinar will remain a legal means of payment parallel to the tolar, which means that until Friday the participants in Slovene payment operations must also accept dinar cash and the commercial banks' checks written in dinars. Savers who have money deposited in giro accounts, current accounts, or savings accounts, do not need to visit banks for this purpose, as their savings will be automatically converted into tolars. The abbreviation for tolar is SLT.

One tolar consists of 100 stotins. As of yesterday, one German mark is worth 32 tolars, which means that, in comparison to the former stock exchange rate, the new Slovene monetary unit has been devalued by a little more than 20 percent.

Croatia

Tomac Claims Truce 'Less Unfavorable Decision'

LD0910180191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1537 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, October 9 (TANJUG)—"In a situation when Croatia was not in a position to choose, truce was accepted as a less unfavourable decision," Croatian Vice Premier Zdravko Tomac told a press conference here on Wednesday.

We faced a dilemma—to sign or not to sign, because the agreement contains things unacceptable to Croatia, said Tomac. He described the signing as rather a military decision: Croatia has accepted some compromises in order that bloodshed may be stopped and massacres of civilians, especially in Dubrovnik and Zadar, prevented. Speaking in his own name and not as vice premier, Tomac said that "not to accept the agreement would be an even worse solution."

Croatia will bring about sovereignty on its entire territory, said Tomac. He noted that the Croatian forces were better equipped daily to put up an even more determined resistance to the "occupation forces" in case of new threats.

Domljan Rejects Army's Right To Remove Materiel

LD0910222991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—"The Army has no right to take anything out of Croatia," Croatian Assembly President Zarko Domljan told journalists today, commenting on the latest cease-fire agreement.

In Domljan's opinion, the bad side of the agreement is Article 3, stating that "the Yugoslav People's Army units can leave their barracks and other establishments with transport means, technical equipment, personal arms, and other mobile equipment." The Assembly president proposes "an agreement whereby the Army will not take with it arms and ammunition but leave them behind to be taken over by civil athorities under the control of international observers until the overall property is finally divided."

Slavonia Leader Expresses Doubts Over Cease-Fire

LD0910161191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1414 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Beli Manastir, October 9 (TANJUG)—"We do not believe in the latest ceasefire which was signed early this morning in Zagreb between the representatives of the Army and the Croatian authorities," stated at Beli Manastir Ilija Koncarevic, president of the assembly of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem.

If the latest truce, as Koncarevic said, meant unblocking military garrisons in Croatia and guartanteed to the Serbian people self-determination and a free decision to remain in Yugoslavia, then it would be welcome. However, experience so far has taught us to doubt also this latest ceasefire, says Koncarevic.

Slavonia Serb Region Adopts Laws on Status

AU0910163091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] The National Assembly of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem has had a session today. Several decisions and laws have been adopted. Here is Slavko Pusic reporting from Beli Manastir:

[Begin recording] [National Assembly President Koncarevic] By the decision of the Great National Assembly, the Territorial Defense of the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem will become part of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia. In this connection, the Assembly authorizes the government to take steps in agreement with the Federal Secretariat for National Defense with a view to realizing this decision.

[Pusic] These were the words of Ilija Koncarevic, president of the Great National Assembly of the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem. Along with the decision that the Territorial Defense of the region should become a part of the Armed Forces of the Yugoslav People's Army, the Assembly adopted several laws: the Law on the Government, the Law on Measures in the Event of the State of Emergency, the Law on Courts and Their Temporary Territorial Authority, the Law on the Prosecutor's Office, and the Law on Stamps of State and Other Organs.

The Law on the Official Use of Language and Script envisages that the official language is Serbian and the official script is Cyrillic. Organs, organizations, and firms can write their names in Latin script as well and the same applies to traffic and road signs on international roads and highways, as well as to names of places and other geographic terms.

The greatest polemics arose about the proposals to appoint judges, public prosecutors, and their deputies. Several guests and assembly deputies asked whether what all the candidates have been doing for the last 10 years has been checked. The list of judicial officials was unanimously adopted by a vote on the basis of the proposal by the government of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem. The Assembly accepted the explanation by government President Goran Hadzic that the most important thing is that not one of the proposed candidates collaborated with the Ustasha authorities and if there are any suspicions, they should then be brought to light. [end recording]

Tanks Reported Massing South of Zagreb

AU0910220691 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2100 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Telephone interview with Walter Erdelitsch in Zagreb by Elmar Oberhauser in Vienna—live]

[Excerpt] [Oberhauser] Good evening, Mr. Erdelitsch.

[Erdelitsch] Good evening, Mr. Oberhauser.

[Oberhauser] We have just learned that, despite the cease-fire agreement, tanks are massing about 170 km south of Zagreb. What does this mean?

[Erdelitsch] Tanks are moving to Gospic from all sides, particularly from Bihac in Bosnia, from Rijeka, and from Karlovac, which has been attacked several times in the past few days. Gospic itself has been completely destroyed. It looks like the towns that were bombed during World War II. Thus, Gospic cannot really be the target of the tank columns. The target might be Karlobag, which is situated outside Gospic on the coast. Those who want to establish a greater Serbia would like to capture this town. So far, however, it has not been attacked. [passage omitted]

Talks on Army's Withdrawal From Barracks Continue

LD0910223191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Mladen Vedris, president of the Zagreb city crisis headquarters, told journalists at a news conference this evening that talks on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Zagreb's barracks are continuing, and misunderstandings have arisen over the provision of new locations to which the federal Army should withdraw. He added that the Army was mentioning Petrinja as a possible new destination, which is unacceptable, and said: Our view is that it must withdraw from the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

The city crisis headquarters today also decided to ease some security measures in Zagreb: Blackout measures are abolished, drivers are no longer required to use dipped headlights, the 40 kph speed limit is no longer in effect, and the order for stores to close by 1800 no longer applies. Secondary and elementary schools will be closed until further notice, while movie houses that can guarantee the safety of their audiences and have air raid shelters are allowed to stay open. Public transport will continue to run until midnight, but in the case of an air raid alert all the usual security measures will again apply.

Vukovar Serbs Dissatisfied With Truce

AU0910144691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Oct 91

[By Mirko Stankovic from Vukovar]

[Text] The cease-fire agreement signed last night between the Yugoslav Army and Croatia was not received with special satisfaction in the Vukovar region, especially among members of the Territorial Defense and numerous refugees in the Sid commune, because there are presently about 11,000 unprotected Serbs in Vukovar. Suffering and starving, they have been waiting for months for the liberators, who have been on the outskirts of the town.

In contrast to many other towns, which have been liberated and offer some kind of freedom and opportunities for people to return and deal with the consequences, the Serbs in Vukovar are still without much hope for primarily their own safety or for finding places by temporarily leaving the town. Therefore, people here think that the signing of the truce, that is, the determination of conditions, should have been approached in a selective manner. All these reasons are causing concern among members of the Territorial Defense, which predominantly consists of Serbs from Vukovar, about their close relatives whose agony continues in this town. They categorically demand that their safety be placed under the supervision of EC observers and the International Red Cross, the telephone lines be immediately restored, and regular communications be established; otherwise, they will not respect the truce, but will continue to try to liberate their town.

Therefore, they issue an urgent appeal to all the parties in Yugoslavia, the United Nations, the EC, and all other international bodies to protect the Serb-populated parts that have not been liberated.

'Terrorists' Cause Vukovar To 'Bleed'

LD0910173491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Excerpts] We just received a new report from Vukovar: Vukovar, which remains under strong enemy encirclement, did not benefit much from the cease-fire: It was only peaceful for a few hours this morning. However, even during these few hours, mortar shells were landing on the town, of course, coming from the direction of Petrova Gora from ever ready terrorists, Josip [name indistinct] reports for Croatian radio from Vukovar, from the eastern part of independent Croatia.

To continue to bother these bretheren and to break the cease-fire, multiple rocket launchers, tanks, howitzers, and mortar launchers sounded soon afterward from Backa, Negoslavci, Vukovar barracks, Djevgaj, and Bogdanovci. The enemy is no longer following his war plans, strategy, and tactics in his attacks on Vukovar but is using a primitive farmer's logic: Inflict as much damage on your neighbor as possible. If it is impossible to make some more sensible moves in attacks on Vukovar, then the occupying forces are trying everything to destroy it completely. It is impossible to understand how so much barbarism can pervade the idea of greater Serbia. Great only is the imagination and brutality of the Serbian top leadership and the servility of the bolshevik generals who will bring bereavement not only to Croatian homes but also to those in Serbia. How can we belive any cease-fire when a fresh 2,500 missiles hit the town? How can we belive this cease-fire when, at 1030 GMT today, five tanks leave the barracks, aided by infantry, to carry out new conquests? Their attack was repulsed, and one of the tanks was destroyed. This is the fourth week now that Vukovar has been without electricity and water and even more so without telephone

links. Its residents have spent just as long in their cellars and shelters. [passage omitted]

Vukovar continues to bleed: Seventeen injured people were admitted to Vukovar hospital today. The fact that Vukovar represents Croatia is best confirmed by the strength and perseverance of its defense.

Forces Attack YPA Positions

LD0910225391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2214 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Vukovar, Osijek, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—The Croatian forces this evening attacked Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] positions around Vukovar and Osijek, a TANJUG reporter learnt from military sources. Describing these attacks by the Croatian forces, which are stationed in the vicinity of Vukovar and Osijek, YPA officers say that "they have not assumed serious proportions at the moment." There were similar attacks on YPA positions around Vukovar and Osijek during the day. According to military sources, the Croatian forces also launched several attacks on YPA positions in other parts of Croatia from midnight last night until this evening. Army positions near Cavtat, Vinkovci, and the Skradin area were attacked. Mortar attacks were launched on YPA positions around Karlovac, Novska, and Pakrac. YPA units only responded to some of these attacks, and only in those cases where soldiers' and officers' lives were at risk. In none of these cases were the YPA units the first to open fire, because the cease-fire agreement is being consistently implemented.

Vukovar 'Under Total Blockade'

LD1010071191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0600 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] The commander of the Croatian army in Vukovar has once again warned the leading bodies of Croatia that Vukovar is under total blockade. During the 47-day-long siege, the defenders of the town have destroyed 200 tanks, eight aircraft, one helicopter, and over 3,500 soldiers. Although the link between Vinkovci and Vukovar is yet to be restored, the defenders' message is: Vukovar will persevere.

Vukovar was shelled by terrorists throughout yesterday. The town was hit by over 2,500 shells. Several tanks with infantry support attempted to enter the town. The attack was repulsed and the Croatian forces succeeded in destroying one tank. Twenty-seven people have been admitted to the Vukovar medical center.

YPA Tanks, Infantry Advance

LD1010085991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0830 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] A high-intensity attack on Vukovar marked the beginning of Thursday. At about 0700, the invading army tanks with strong infantry support began to advance on the town from the direction of Petrova Gora. The objective is clear: to push the Croatian defense lines at Sajmiste fairground which has been the target of the enemy's aggression recently. Fighting is still underway and the Croatian Army has been successfully repelling the attack. There are no reports about losses.

Strong artillery fire has been opened from the direction of the Vinarija wine producing and bottling enterprise in support of an enemy infantry detachment which is trying to penetrate into the town.

Town 'Threatened With Slaughter'

LD1010122191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 10 Oct 91

[By correspondent Sinisa Glavasevic from Vukovar]

[Text] An infantry attack launched at about 0700 this morning from the northern slopes of Petrova Gora with strong artillery support is still going on. About 300 enemy soldiers have been advancing on the town. According to the latest reports, about 50 of them have been put out of action.

Meanwhile, the enemy has launched a new attack on the southern part of the municipality. The people of Vukovar are threatened with slaughter—everyone is aware of that. But everyone is determined that Vukovar will win and will not fall. Someone will come out of this alive.

Attempts to 'Flatten' Town

LD1010133191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Oct 91

[By correspondent Vesna Vukovic from Vukovar]

[Text] It is difficult to believe, but the people of Vukovar are being led to believe that someone has put their lives at risk, because, despite the cease-fire, attempts are being made today to flatten Vukovar and kill everything that breaths. Following a violent night, it looks as if the decisive day for Vukovar's survival has come. Strong tank and infantry forces have been attacking the town since this morning. Croatian soldiers and the enemy army are engaged in street fighting in some parts of the town.

It is known that one enemy tank has been destroyed and that out of 500 infantry soldiers who were advancing toward the town center about 100 have been killed.

Vukovar cannot be defended with promises. It is being defended with the courage of soldiers who, with their love for the town and homeland, have been awaiting help for days. It is difficult to explain to them who is to blame for the promises not having yet been fulfilled.

Nine dead and 32 wounded people had been brought to the Vukovar medical center by 1300. [passage indistinct]

Knin Corps Sets Conditions for Cease-Fire Talks

LD0910130191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1016 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Knin, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—Last night, the second in a row, passed peacefully on Dalmatian battlefields. This was confirmed this morning, but still unofficially, by the Knin Corps Information Service, which is also preparing a statement regarding the two-day negotiations on the establishment of a cease-fire which were held in Zemunik Air Base near Zadar. The negotiations will be resumed today but will now focus only on the establishment of technical details, on the basis of a platform for talks which was offered by the Knin Corps Command.

The platform envisages the release of all imprisoned members of the armed forces, members of their families, and also all persons accused of cooperating with the Yugoslav armed forces and armed formations of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina.

The platform also envisages the removal of all barricades and the destruction of minefields which the Croatian National Guard Corps and the Croatian Interior Ministry planted around army facilities. The platform demands that Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units and facilities be regularly supplied with food, be reconnected to the water supply and electricity systems, and have their telephone links restored.

The fulfillment of these and other demands is a condition under which the Knin Corps will guarantee an absolute cease-fire.

Zadar Mayor Accepts Conditions

LD0910141391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Knin, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—Following two days of talks in Zemunik Air Base, representatives of the Zadar authorities, headed by Mayor Ivo Livljanic, have accepted a platform on the resolution of contentious issues offered by Major General Vladimir Vukovic, commander of the Knin Corps. [passage omitted]

Zadar, Army Authorities Agree on Terms

LD0910205791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1831 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Knin, October 9 (TANJUG)—The authorities in Zadar, a city in central Dalmatia, and the Yugoslav Army representatives agreed today on terms of a cease-fire. One of the terms, evacuation of the wounded on both sides, has already been fulfilled.

The Army's Knin corps command stated that, after two days of talks, the representatives of Zadar have accepted "in principle" all points of a draft agreement proposed by the Army, including deblocking the barracks and supplying them with food, water and electricity.

The agreement provides for an absolute ceasefire and control over the Armed Forces on both sides.

The Zadar side accepted to free all soldiers and officers of the Yugoslav People's Army and members of their families, as well as uniformed persons and civilians of Serbian nationality currently held in custody and to return all military resources taken by force from the Army facilities.

Army representatives today also discussed a peaceful settlement of the conflict with the representatives of Ilok, a Croatian town on the border with Serbia.

Damaged Sava River Bridge Reopened

LD0910143191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] At noon today the Slavonski Brod emergency center reopened the bridge over the Sava River between Slavonski Brod and Bosanski Brod, which had been closed for 24 days. Now that the Bosanski Novi municipality has fulfilled conditions imposed by the Slavonski Brod emergency center, the bridge will be open for pedestrians between 0500 and 1800.

In view of the fact that the bridge has been damaged—estimated at almost $2 million—an agreement has been reached with the leadership of the Bosanski Brod municipality, parliamentary deputies of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, and the EEC observers to set up two mixed commissions: one to control the right-hand bank of the Sava River to stop Serbian reservists and the army from returning to the area, and the other to determine the extent of the damage.

Croatia Declares Ljubljana Bank 'Foreign'

LD0910090491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1913 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, October 8 (TANJUG)—The National Bank of Croatia today informed the Zagreb branch of the Ljubljana Bank that the decision on Slovenia's monetary independence implies that it has become a foreign bank in Zagreb as of today, Croatian bank officials told the press.

This is why the state of the branch's assets and liabilities should immediately be determined. Also, it can no longer receive any dinar amounts from the central bank in Ljubljana, the officials said.

The National Bank of Croatia also instructed the post office and the republican auditing service not to receive any payment orders from the Republic of Slovenia.

Slovenia's decision on its monetary independence from Yugoslavia was adopted last night. As of today, the dinar as a legal tender in Slovenia will be replaced by the Slovenian currency to be known as the tolar.

Minister in the Slovenian Government Dusan Sesok said at a news conference in Ljubljana today that Slovenian

banks would in the next three days give one tolar for one dinar, after which the exchange rate of the two currencies would be regulated according to their value on the Ljubljana exchange.

Sesok said initially the German mark would have a value of 32 tolars.

The minister said the foreign-currency foundations of the tolar consisted of the republic's 130 million D-mark foreign currency reserves, collected in the past fifty-some days, and about 200 million dollars Slovenian banks held in foreign banks.

The stability of the currency will primarily be maintained by securing a positive export-import balance and by halting the growth of prices and salaries, Sesok said.

He also showed journalists the new—provisional—banknotes, which, he said, would be replaced within six months at the most with new ones, probably of a different design but with the same name.

At the same news conference republican Vice-Premier Andrej Ocvirk said that as far as customs duties were concerned the other Yugoslav republics would be treated 'as if Slovenia was in a customs union with them.' This means that goods from other countries destined for them will not be subject to customs duties if passing through Slovenia but will be treated as goods in transit, he said.

Serbia

Milosevic Declines To Attend The Hague Talks

LD0910205491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—Tomnorrow's meeting in The Hague will discuss ways of consolidating the Yugoslav cease-fire and political aspects of the SFRY crisis denouement. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic will not participate in the cease-fire talks, because Serbia is not at war and, hence, cannot negotiate a cease-fire. Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said this on Belgrade TV while stressing that Milosevic will arrive in The Hague with the best intentions of resolving Yugoslav problems by political means and with the hope that all its nations will be given the same opportunities. The outcome of The Hague conference will only be known at its conclusion, Jovanovic said, adding that all options are open.

Jovanovic Interviewed on Talks

AU0910223491 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Interview with Vladislav Jovanovic, Serbian minister of foreign affairs, by Tatjana Lenard; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Hans van den Broek, Dutch foreign affairs minister, is due to meet Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of Serbia; Franjo Tudjman, president of Croatia; and Veljko Kadijevic, federal national defense secretary, tomorrow in The Hague. On the eve of this important meeting, Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign affairs minister of Serbia, talked with Tatjana Lenard.

[Lenard] Regarding the last meeting held in The Hague, there were some ambiguities in the reports that came from The Hague; they primarily concerned views on the future of Yugoslavia. Could you explain this to us?

[Jovanovic] Yes, the ambiguities could come from the first point that was formulated in a certain way and concerned some kind of loose confederation that would be reserved for the future of Yugoslavia. This was the consequence of what I could call technical conditions because the four-hour meeting was an informal meeting that was not followed by any statement and certainly not by a signed document. The text of the statement was announced by Dutch Foreign Minister Van den Broek, the meeting's chairman, on the basis of notes that a Dutch diplomat had made for his own use, and in which the most precise expressions were not always used. He was, of course, not very familiar with some official names, particularly on the Yugoslav side.

This is why this statement contained, that is to say, reflected in some way, inaccuracies in terminology and elsewhere that were to be found in the actual notes. On the other hand, like any statement from an individual concerning a meeting, it is the consequence of one view and, of course, an affinity with a certain kind of solution that was discussed at that meeting. This was also done by our president during the working lunch at which the results of the previous discussion were summed up, when it was stated that all the options that had been put forward for the reconstruction of Yugoslavia were of equal importance and were on an equal footing in the game, so to speak.

Therefore, the option put forward by Foreign Minister Van den Broek was one of the options that have been in circulation in our territory for some time and that were definitely present in the thinking and talks in The Hague last week.

[Lenard] One of the important issues is the participation of the representatives of the two Serbian Krajinas in the talks.

[Jovanovic] On the other points, we should pay attention to the point that concerns the Serbian people in Croatia who live in the Krajinas and for whom the term, special status, has essentially been reserved. Let us not forget that this was done in a pronounced way in order to distinguish between a minority status that is otherwise used for minority groups in Yugoslavia, and the position of the Serbian people in Croatia in these Krajinas, for which it is considered that in its final document, the Hague conference should offer a solution that would reflect both the actual situation and their legitimate right to decide on whether or not they want to remain in Yugoslavia.

Therefore, this special status is essentially a synonym for the right to self-determination, which the conference will definitely have to respect as an equal right on both sides; that is, both for the Croatian people and for the Serbian people in Croatia.

[Lenard] What do you expect from tomorrow's summit in The Hague?

[Jovanovic] In some ways, tomorrow's meeting is a continuation of last week's meeting and, as far as I know, there will be two main items on the agenda; in fact the only two: The first one will relate to the consolidation of the cease-fire in Croatia, and the second to an exchange of views on the political aspects of resolving this state-political crisis in Yugoslavia, considering that the meeting has actually been called to discuss the future of Yugoslavia and not its disintegration.

In this connection, I have talked by telephone with the coordinator of the conference in The Hague, Ambassador Wijnaendts, who is well-known to us. I explained to him that President Milosevic will arrive in The Hague with the best intentions to resolve the Yugoslav crisis in the sense of strengthening the prospects for a political solution in all aspects of our crisis and the possibility of bringing views closer together on principled bases, which are well known from our present approaches.

At the same time, I explained that Serbia is not a side in the war in Croatia and that so far as President Milosevic is concerned, he cannot be expected to participate in the discussion on the first point and particularly not in the consideration of issues that concern the cease-fire and the consolidation of that process. On the second point on the agenda, which is more comprehensive, more ambitious, and more complex because our crisis is such, President Milosevic is, however, quite prepared to be actively involved. He will do this on the basis of our clear and principled stances, which do not favor either the Republic of Serbia or the Serbian people, but offer equal chances and opportunities to all Yugoslav peoples and republics to contribute to the political aspects of our crisis' being examined in the most concrete way and, if this is at all possible, the achievement of a consensus—at least on some aspects of these future solutions.

What these future solutions will be like is a matter for negotiation. It is difficult and almost impossible to suddenly say whether or not this will fall along the lines of first, second, or third option. As I said at the beginning, all options are equal and all of them are being considered and decided on. The results will be known at the end of the Hague conference.

I have to say that Mr. Wijnaendts, the coordinator, received this explanation with understanding and offered assurances that President Milosevic will not be expected to be actively involved in the first point on the agenda because he respects the fact that Serbia is not a side in the war, but he expects Milosevic to give his contribution to the active and detailed consideration of the second item on the agenda, which, as I said, will deal with all the political aspects of our crisis.

[Lenard] Thank you for this interview.

[Jovanovic] You are welcome.

Socialist Party Leader on Shape of New Yugoslavia

LD0910211991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1746 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Pec, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—The two basic goals of the present war in Croatia are the liberation of the Serbian people outside Serbia from terror and genocide, to which the Croatian authorities are subjecting them, and the liberation of the surrounded and captured Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] garrisons in the Republic of Croatia. The above statement was made by academician and professor Dr. Mihajlo Markovic, vice president of the Main Committee of the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS], at the party's rally organized by the SPS's Pec municipal committee.

Speaking about the Yugoslav crisis denouement, Markovic said that the YPA would not leave Croatian territory within the present borders. The YPA will withdraw to a new border between Serbia and Croatia, after which talks can be conducted to find a peaceful solution, stressed academician Markovic. He added that there will be at least three federal units in a new Yugoslav state: Serbia, Montenegro, and a united Bosnian and Knin Krajina. Should Bosnian Muslims and Macedonians express a wish to remain in a new Yugoslav state they will be gladly accepted. Should they try to secede, however, they ought to know—said academician Markovic—that Kumanovo and Skopska Crna Gora will remain within the new Yugoslavia, while the state of the Bosnian Muslims would, in this case, be surrounded by Serbian territories, which they certainly would not like to happen.

Speaking about the EC attitude to the Yugoslav crisis, academician Markovic said that the EC, although interested to see an end to the war, was still biased in favor of Croatia and Slovenia. Markovic added that whenever Croatia and Slovenia failed to honor the obligations laid down by the agreements, the accusations were addressed to the Yugoslav state, and when reasons were found for Serbian and YPA attacks, accusations are direct and very strong.

Continuing his speech, Markovic talked in particular about the positions of each of the EC member countries on the present Yugoslav situation. He stressed that the countries against which we fought several wars, such as Germany, Austria, and Hungary, had a very hostile and aggressive attitude toward Serbia and the YPA; while the center of this aggression against Serbia and orthodoxy—according to Markovic—is the Vatican.

Markovic laid special emphasis on the attitude of France and Great Britain which, in Markovic's opinion, are not allowing Germany to break through to the Mediterrancan.

Bosnia-Hercegovnia

Trebinje Army Troops Deny Violating Cease-Fire

LD0910174891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1258 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Trebinje, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—The information service of the so-called Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] operative group stationed near Trebinje denies that its men opened fire after the SFRY Presidency cease-fire decision. This is misinformation and a deliberate provocation against the YPA and its members, says the denial issued by the operative group.

The operative group information service appeals to all reporters from the Hercegovina battle area to use only information that has been checked.

Bosnians Concerned About Slovene Currency Effects

AU0910172791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Oct 91

[By Correspondent Ljubomir Nikolic from Sarajevo]

[Text] The introduction of the Slovene currency will inflict great damage on Bosnia-Hercegovina because the Slovenes will use dinars to purchase our goods. If this is also done by the Croatians, then our republic is in real trouble. This was stated by Muhamed Cengic, vice president of the Party of Democratic Action and the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina. He said that an oil tanker with oil destined for Bosnia-Hercegovina is docked in the Rijeka harbor and that oil cannot reach the refinery in Bosanski Brod because oil pipelines are cut off.

The Party of Democratic Action supports the proposal by Alija Izetbegovic that Bosnia-Hercegovina be proclaimed neutral. This party does not have any objections to the conduct of Bogic Bogicevic [member of the SFRY Presidency from Bosnia-Hercegovina] and supports the efforts of Sulejman Ugljanin [head of the Party of Democratic Action of the Sandzak] that Muslims from the Sandzak participate in the talks in The Hague.

Irfan Ajanovic [vice president of the SFRY Assembly] today said that the delegation of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the Federal Chamber will decide tonight on its participation in the session scheduled for tomorrow, and added that the decisions on dissociation by Slovenia and Croatia, separation accounts, and a possible new association should be made by the parliamentary delegations of all republics.

A map of Bosnia-Hercegovina published by the republican Geodetic Institute was described by the Party of Democratic Action as a trick, because this map is not a demographic but a cadastral map of the republic. On this map, 64 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina is marked blue to show the areas in which Serbs constitute the majority.

At a new conference held immediately after that, Dr. Radovan Karadzic [leader of the Serbian Democratic Party] denied this, claiming that this was a demographic map of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Karadzic called the decisions by Slovenia and Croatia unilateral. Commenting on the economic damage caused to Bosnia-Hercegovina, which was mentioned by Muhamed Cengic, he said that it is now too late to lament, because the colonial position of Bosnia-Hercegovina toward Slovenia should have been pointed out earlier.

The Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina considers Izetbegovic's declaration of Bosnia's neutrality as a unilateral and hasty decision that does not have legal or constitutional grounds. This party appealed for the respect of federal regulations and the Constitution, and protested against the usurpation of the rights of the relevant state organs, above all, the Council for National Defense of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by the Crisis Headquarters in the republican Presidency and by Ejup Ganic. The party also holds the view that the Serbian people in this republic are dissatisfied with the behavior of Bogic Bogicevic. It expects a change in his position following the decisions of the Slovene and Croatian Assemblies. The Serbian Democratic party today protested against the inequality of Serbs in the media in Bosnia-Hercegovina and extended support to the proposal for new symbols of the Republic of Serbia. The political council of this party holds the view that the traditional Serbian tricolor flag, the coat of arms with a white two-headed eagle, shield, and lettering, and the anthem God of Justice represent the symbols of not only Serbia but of the Serbian people as a whole.

Croatian Community To Publish Political Weekly

AU0910134691 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] The statement by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, is not merely his own personal position but a summary of the previous work of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency contained in the platform sent to the republican assembly, it was stated at today's news conference in the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ].

The party stressed that Bosnia-Hercegovina's neutrality could be achieved only if Bosnia-Hercegovina secures itself control [jurisdikcija] over the civil authority. The journalists were also shown the directions for the establishment of the Yugoslav National Front for the Protection of Yugoslavia's Territorial Integrity, which were drawn from the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia Party. These directions are trying to suspend the legitimate authorities in Bosnia-Hercegovina, it was stated at the news conference. For this reason, the HDZ will demand from the responsible organs that the authors of the directions, at least, be brought in for informative talks. The HDZ emphasized its dissatisfaction with the existing media and their editorial politics and

announced that beginning 18 October an HDZ political weekly called Herceg-Bosnia will be published.

New Political Party Supports Bosnian State

AU0910135291 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Oct 91

[By Nebojsa Stefanovski]

[Excerpt] The Bosnian Democratic Union will be an organization with a civil orientation [gradjanska provenijencija], was stated as well as written in the party's program declaration tonight.

The basic goals of the party are: the establishment of an independent and autonomous Bosnian state, the achievement of the international-legal status of a neutral state—especially with regard to the current clashes in the country—the formation of republic's own economic system, the proportional participation of all religious and ethnic groups in all state institutions, and the observance of human rights and freedom of religion and thinking.

The neutrality and autonomy of Bosnia-Hercegovina must be internationally secured, it was said tonight. Many reproaches were made at the expense of the current authorities; for example, promises were made about peace and prosperity, but what we got was a division between the nations of Bosnia- Hercegovina, regionalization, and paralysis of the functioning of the legal system. [passage omitted]

Macedonia

Commission Adopts Draft Constitution

LD0910210191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1836 GMT 9 Oct 91

[Text] Skopje, October 9 (TANJUG)—The Republic of Macedonia is sovereign, independent, democratic, and a social state. The sovereignty of the Republic of Macedonia is indivisible, inalienable, and nontransferrable—this is underscored in a proposed Macedonian constitution whose draft was adopted this evening by the constitution commission of the Macedonian republican parliament.

Under the draft, which should be adopted by the Assembly soon, sovereignty stems from the people and belongs to the people. The citizens of this republic will share the power through representatives elected democratically through a referendum or other forms of direct expression of the will of the people.

The constitution commission did not determine the text of the preamble to the constitution at this evening's session. Members of the Party for Democratic Prosperity and the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian Unity] party gave new proposals. The Party for Democratic Prosperity proposes that the preamble inlude a statement that Macedonia is a national state of the Macedonian nation and a state of part of the Albanian nation in it, and also of other nationalities which live in Macedonia. The VMRO-DPMNE, among other things, maintains that the preamble should state that Macedonia is a national state of the Macedonian nation and all citizens who live in it.